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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-107 *3 June 1996*

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Balkans: Serbian President Milosevic Arrives in Geneva

LD0206104996 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1009 GMT 2 Jun 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, June 2 (TANJUG)—President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia arrived here Sunday [2 June] morning for a meeting of the signatories of the Dayton peace agreement, to be held at the United States U.N. mission in the afternoon.

The meeting will be chaired by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

It will be attended also by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, Contact Group representatives and others.

Balkans: Milosevic: Implementation of Dayton Accord Successful

LD0206122496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1211 GMT 2 Jun 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, June 2 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic assessed Sunday [2 June] the impelementation of the Dayton peace agreement as successful and that now the most important task was the holding of elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Milosevic said on arrival in Geneva, where he will take part in a meeting of countries signatories of the Dayton peace agreement, that views about key aspects of the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement will be exchanged at the meeting.

'We have six months of the realisation of the agreements behind us and it is very clear the realisation is completely successful', Milosevic said. He added they now had to see what are the next tasks in the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement.

He said that the next main task was to hold the elections, that will give legal, democratic institutions. The new situation will give a lot of possibilities for tolerance, normal cooperation and the return to normal live in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Milosevic said.

The Serbian president said he hoped all conditions will be fulfilled for that and the process of elections takes place as it was proposed and fixed in the Dayton agreements. So I'm a big optimist in terms of that, Milosevic said.

The meeting of countries signatories of the Dayton peace agreement starts Sunday afternoon at the U.S. mission to the United Nations in Geneva, under the chairmanship of Secretary of State Warren Chirstopher.

Also attending will be Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, along with members of the Contact Group.

President Milosevic is accompanied by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic.

Republika Srpska (Serb entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina) Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha is also in Geneva and will take part in the work of the meeting.

Balkans: Source Cites Milosevic Pledge To 'Sideline' Karadzic

AU0206142896 Paris AFP in English 1349 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, June 2 (AFP)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic pledged here Sunday at a meeting on the faltering Bosnia peace process to sideline Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, a western diplomat said.

The diplomat, who attended the meeting and spoke on condition of anonymity, did not elaborate on how Milosevic would go about shunting aside Karadzic, who has threatened to scupper planned elections in Bosnia by refusing to step down.

Milosevic made the pledge at a closed-door luncheon with US Secretary of State Warren Christopher as well as fellow Balkan leaders Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia.

The summit was called amid a diplomatic offensive by the West to oust Karadzic and his army chief Ratko Mladic, both wanted by the UN court in the Hague on charges of war crimes.

Western diplomats said the three Balkan leaders agreed during the meeting to respect a two-page document drawn up by the "contact group" on Bosnia concerning conditions that need to be fulfilled ahead of the elections to be held by mid-September.

Those conditions include freedom of movement between the Bosnian Serb entity, Republika Srpska, unfettered media coverage of the elections and cooperation with the war crimes tribunal.

Milosevic was quoted as saying during the luncheon that he would deal with Karadzic who, he said, was being given too much importance by the West.

"You westerners give him too much publicity," the Serbian president was quoted as saying. "You are playing his game."

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Western leaders believe that Karadzic and Mladic constitute the biggest obstacle to the implementation of the peace accords negotiated six months ago and have upped the pressure on Milosevic to dislodge the two hardliners or risk a resumption of sanctions against Belgrade.

Swiss Foreign Minister Flavio Cotti stressed following the lunch that "indicted war criminals remain one of the greatest obstacles toward the normal evolution" to holding the elections.

Balkans: Milosevic 'Very Optimistic' About B-H Elections

AU0206173496 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Let us hear the statement that President Milosevic made prior to the beginning of the Geneva talks:

[Begin Milosevic recording, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] We are here to exchange views and to talk about key aspects of the process of realization of the Dayton peace agreement. We have six months of the realization of Dayton agreement behind us. It is very clear that this realization is completely successful. Therefore we have to examine the next main tasks. It goes without saying that the next main and most important thing in Bosnia-Herzegovina are the elections, the process of elections. I am sure that these elections will represent the main crossroads in the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I therefore hope that all of the conditions will be met for that and that the process of elections will take place as was proposed and envisaged in the Dayton agreement. I am very optimistic in this respect. [end recording]

Balkans: Milosevic: Geneva Additional Stimulus to Peace Accord

AU0206194696 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 2 Jun 96

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by Zoran Jevdjovic in Geneva on 2 June—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jevdjovic] Mr. President, today's Geneva meeting has been concluded, one of the series of meetings that have been held in the past 20 days and that will be held in the coming period, all on the occasion of six months of the implementation of the Dayton agreement. What is your assessment of the results of the Geneva meeting today?

[Milosevic] We had very intensive talks with the entire U.S. team, headed by Secretary of State Christopher, and with representatives of the Contact Group member countries, with High Representative Bildt, with President Izetbegovic, and with President Tudjman. Virtually all of the key issues for the further implementation of the Dayton agreement have been touched upon, and it goes without saying that the most important issue, which justifiably attracts the greatest attention and has the greatest significance for a positive outcome in the regions affected by the war that stopped with the Dayton agreement, is the issue of holding the first free and democratic elections, both in the Serb Republic and in the Muslim-Croat Federation, as well as the elections for the bodies of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This is certainly connected with many preconditions. However, it is obvious that all of the sides are ready to exert maximum efforts toward establishing these preconditions. This above all refers to freedom of movement, to a normal political life in both entities, and to the possibility of equal participation by all political forces running in the planned elections, in conformity with democratic rules.

Considering the very clear stand by all collocutors, I am convinced that all sides will do their best for these preconditions to be established, and I believe that under these conditions the elections will be held in time, in the manner envisaged by the Dayton agreement—that is to say, by the first half of this September.

This will mean a huge change because it will establish legitimate and freely and democratically elected bodies and institutions, whose functions will enable normal life and our turning to the reconstruction of the war-destroyed economy and the establishment of normal mutual links.

[Jevdjovic] Tell us just one more thing. There were many speculations before this meeting about what its goal is and what, above all, the U.S. side wants to achieve with this meeting. Considering what is envisaged in the final document, it is obvious that everybody's joint goal was not what we were hearing about, but above all creating real conditions for coming to the elections as soon as possible and electing legitimate bodies of power. Was this confirmed at the meeting?

[Milosevic] That was undoubtedly confirmed at the meeting. It is obvious that both the United States, as the country that played a decisive role in adopting the peace agreement, and all of the Contact Group member countries, as well as all of the sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina, want the Dayton agreement to be successful. That goes without saying. Thus the greatest attention has been concentrated and the greatest time devoted to solving in the right way this most important question of preparing free and democratic elections for the end of summer.

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I therefore think that I may freely say that this meeting has given an additional stimulus to the successful realization of the Dayton agreement.

Balkans: Bildt: Words Not Enough To Oust Karadzic, Mladic

AU0206143496 Paris AFP in English 0836 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, June 2 (AFP)—High Representative for Bosnia Carl Bildt, arriving here Sunday for a summit on Bosnia, said that words alone were not enough to oust the Bosnian Serb leadership, what mattered was action.

"Declarations and documents are not enough (...) I am interested in results," Bildt told reporters on his arrival in Geneva for a meeting with US Secretary of State Warren Christopher as part of the summit on the stumbling Bosnian peace process.

He said it was "intolerable and provocative" that Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic and his military commander General Ratko Mladic—both indicted for crimes against humanity—continued in power in the Serb entity. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and the Bosnian Serb leadership "know exactly what is required" of them by the international community, Bildt added.

Milosevic is taking part in Sunday's summit along with his Bosnian and Croatian counterparts and Christopher.

The talks Sunday come amid increased pressure by the international community to sideline Karadzic, wanted for war crimes by the UN court in the Hague.

Western leaders believe that Karadzic and Mladic constitute the biggest obstacle to the implementation of the accords negotiated six months ago.

Balkans: Croatia's Tudjman Hails Geneva Talks

LD0206180796 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a report from Geneva.

[Correspondent Korda] President of the Republic Dr. Franjo Tudjman has just left Geneva, where he attended the afternoon session of today's meeting on the Dayton peace agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina, at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in Geneva, at the invitation of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Drazen Korda reporting for Croatian radio from Geneva.

The meeting concluded with a joint statement by the presidents of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia. Before leaving, President Tudjman gave a statement to Croatian Radio and TV.

[begin Tudjman recording] This meeting has surpassed my expectations. Together with an exchange of opinions at a joint meeting of all representatives present, and you know who were present—U.S. Secretary of State Christopher, Europe, three representatives, and so forth—we also had very successful bilateral meetings.

It must be mentioned that, with Mr. Izetbegovic and [Kresimir] Zubak, we have achieved, between Croatia and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, important agreements on the progress of the implementation of the federation, not only on ensuring the holding of elections but also on the implementation of the federation.

In bilateral talks with President Milosevic, we have also agreed to speed up the normalization of relations between Croatia and Serbia—that is, Yugoslavia.

In talks with Mr. Christopher and the U.S. delegation, we have touched upon and agreed to a series of issues that will promote bilateral relations between Croatia and the United States and contribute to the solution of problems connected with a definitive solution of all questions relating to the implementation of the Dayton agreement. Maybe the most important point in the talks with the U.S. and Bosnian delegations was the complete agreement on the defense law and on the controversial issues that have until now blocked agreement within the federation.

In talks with Izetbegovic and Zubak, we reached absolute agreement on the command and structure of the federation army, which will consist of two parts, the Bosnian Army and the Croat Defense Council. The Bosnian part will be under the command of Muslims—that is, Izetbegovic—the Croat under Zubak's command.

All in all, I must admit that this day in Geneva was very successful. [end recording]

OSCE: OSCE Head Interviewed on Albanian, Bosnian Elections

AU0206181696 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1105 GMT 2 Jun 96

[Interview with OSCE Secretary General Wilhelm Hoeynck by Rolf Clement; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Clement] Mr. Hoeynck, after three years as OSCE secretary general, you will resign from this office before the end of this month and go back into the German diplomatic service. The OSCE's most spectacular recent action was its comment on the elections in Albania, which were reportedly

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marked by irregularities. What can you tell us about this? What is the current state of deliberations on this issue?

[Hoeynck] What you said is correct. The OSCE observers have found out that the way the elections took place was not fully in line with the law. There are detailed reports on individual imperfections in the election process, ranging from the observance of the provisions of the election law to the presence of armed forces near the polling stations and other problems. This is what our election observers noted. The OSCE, our office for democratic elections and institutions, will submit a complete report because in such situations there is the danger that conclusions are drawn and applied to other incidents, and we must now try to get a clear and comprehensive idea to be able to assess to what extent these imperfections in the election process had an impact on the election result.

[Clement] What does the Albanian delegation say?

[Hoeynck] The Albanian delegation does not accept the charges the way they are formulated. But it is my impression that this is not Albania's last word because the charges will first have to be examined by the Albanian side.

[Clement] If there were evidence showing that such irregularities really did take place, what options does the OSCE have to bring it influence to bear and make a country take steps to remedy the situation?

[Hoeynck] The OSCE hopes, of course, that in such a situation its conclusions on the election process are taken up primarily by the country itself and that the country thinks about conclusions to be drawn. They have already drawn some conclusions. If I am not mistaken, the election commission in Albania has already ordered the repetition of the elections in a number of constituencies. I think this is a step in a direction in which the Albanian Government in its own interests could find ways to correct shortcomings in the election process.

[Clement] Could the OSCE, on the basis of its instruments, suggest to a country that it hold new elections?

[Hoeynck] I cannot rule this out. However, that would be a very far-reaching consequence that would have to be based on a very detailed analysis of the election process. But, as I said, I hope the conclusions are primarily drawn in the country itself, simply because we are sure the Albanian Government and the Albanian president themselves have an interest in seeing the new institutions established on the basis of orderly elections, to allow them to represent the country with full democratic legitimacy.

[Clement] Full democratic legitimacy and elections that are recognized by the population are conditions that we also want to see in connection with the elections in Bosnia. The elections in Bosnia are to be prepared by the OSCE. Are you seeing a situation in which elections can really be held?

[Hoeynck] The OSCE has to oversee the preparations and implementation of the elections and to help the parties to the Dayton agreement make sure that these elections can be held under the rule of law. The OSCE works for this with a high degree of expense and energy. We currently have a mission of almost 230 officials in Bosnia, and offices throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. The mission is trying not only to oversee but also to support the preparations of the elections. This includes two areas. First, the guarantee that the elections can take place from an organizational point of view, and second—and this is decisive—that the political conditions are met. This is, of course, the business of the institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, primarily of the Federation and of the Republika Srpska, as well as of the local institutions. The efforts of the international community for a normalization of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovia must help create a minimum of conditions for the implementation of democratic elections by 14 September of this year at the latest. This includes certainly a high degree of freedom of movement and certainly also access to the media, allowing the political parties to articulate themselves.

[Clement] Looking at Bosnia today, do you have the impression that these conditions are met or could be met by election day?

[Hoeynck] These are two different questions. In our assessment, these conditions have not yet been met; however, for all of the problems and setbacks, which have not come unexpectedly and which we had to consider, given the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the past three years—despite all this, clear and obvious steps forward have been made. Therefore, what has been agreed upon in the Dayton accords—namely, that the elections will be held on 14 September at the latest—can well be considered feasible.

[Clement] Can the same yardstick be applied to the elections in Bosnia as to elections in Germany, Austria, or Switzerland, for instance?

[Hoeynck] Well, basically, I would say yes. But it is important to see that elections are not the end of a process, after which full democratic and constitutional conditions are established in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The elections are an important step in a long and laborious process. Following the elections, efforts for constitutional and democratic institutions are continuing, primarily by the local

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bodies themselves but with the support of the international community. The OSCE mission will not discontinue its work after the elections. That is why the elections cannot be held in the same atmosphere as elections in Switzerland or Great Britain, for instance. [passage omitted]

NATO: Jun Meeting in Warsaw Previewed

WS3105151096 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 May 96 p 3

[Report by Z.L.: "With the Participation of Three Presidents, VIP's From 32 Countries and Commanders From the Headquarters; The NATO Gala"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A great gala, called modestly the 13th NATO Workshop 1996, will take place in Warsaw in June. Among the people expected to take part in this event are Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, Czech President Vaclav Havel, highest-ranking NATO political officials and commanders, including Secretary General Javier Solana and George A. Joulwan, supreme commander Allied Forces Europe, ministers and politicians of 32 countries, and numerous generals.*

The meeting will take place between 19 and 23 June under the patronage of the Polish president and the chairmanship of NATO representative Roger Weissinger-Baylon; it will be the second such meeting held in a Central-East European country. The most important issues of European security will be discussed jointly by politicians of the countries engaged in the Partnership for Peace program and commanders of the NATO Headquarters: General Jeremy Mackenzie, deputy supreme commander Allied Forces Europe; Air Force Marshal Richard Jones, commander Allied Forces Northwest Europe; Admiral Leighton Smith, commander Allied Forces South Europe; and General Dieter Stockmann, commander Allied Forces Central Europe.

"We expect that an attempt will be made to review the situation in the various regions of the continent," RZECZPOSPOLITA was told by Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Andrzej Towpik. Organizers of the meeting expect to hear opinions of Russia in the discussion. These opinions will be all the more interesting because the Warsaw meeting will take place after the presidential elections in the Russian Federation. Representatives from Finland and Denmark will talk about issues concerning security in the region of North Europe and the Baltic Sea; Poles, Hungarians, Ukrainians, as well as representatives of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, among others, will present their own stands on the situation on the continent. During a special session, issues of international cooperation in the area of defense are to be debated by, among others, General Gary L. Curtin, head of the Nuclear Defense Agency, General Malcolm R. O'Neil, head of the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, and Paul Kaminski, U.S. under secretary of defense for Acquisition and Technology.

Aside from the sessions organized as part of the NATO workshop, the organizers do not envision any military elements. "There will be no visits to barracks or shows of exercises," says Colonel Adam Stasinski of the Office of Press and Information in the National Defense Ministry. Over the four days, the guests will also be able to become familiar with Polish culture: there will be concerts, a gala of the European ballet at the National Theater, smart receptions at the Royal Castle in Warsaw and on the terraces of the Lazienkowski Palace. The participants will have a group photo taken in Lazienki (at the Theater on the Island). The guests will also be invited to a picnic in the House of Polonia at Pultusk. First they will see the Mazowsze folk group in action, and then, with the accompaniment of small folk orchestras, the guests will try Polish cuisine, including grilled meat.

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CEI: Austrian President Greets Albania's Serreqi

AU0306085296 Tirana ATA in English 1914 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, May 31 (ATA)—A two-day meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Council of the Central European Initiative, which started in Vienna today, was opened by Austrian Foreign Minister Schuessel.

After the opening address and the greetings on the occasion, the meeting passed on to the first point of the agenda, which was a decision to accept as full members five associate countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Belarus, Romania and Ukraine. The decision was unanimously adopted by the CEI member countries' foreign ministers after recommendation from the meeting of the heads of states held in Warsaw in October 1995.

Today's meeting had only one session to continue tomorrow with the full structure of the 15 member countries.

Also today the foreign ministers of the 15 CEI member countries were received by Austria's Federal Chancellor Dr. Thomas Klestil. President Klestil congratulated the five newly-accepted states as full members of the Central European Initiative. He spoke of the political importance of this organization of the Central European states.

During the reception, Albanian Foreign Minister Serreqi met and talked with Austrian President Klestil, who, through Mr. Serreqi, congratulated President Berisha on the election results. Mr. Klestil and Mr. Serreqi also talked about the situation in the Balkans and that in Kosova in particular.

Minister Serreqi had meetings with his counterparts present in the meeting. He is expected to have a separate meeting tomorrow with Austria's Foreign Minister Schuessel before the plenary session starts.

CEI: Serreqi: Albania Will Be Active Member of CEI

AU0206191596 Tirana ATA in English 1534 GMT 2 Jun 96

[Report by F. Vladi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 2 (ATA)—Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi said Albania will be an active member of the Central European Initiative (CEI).

"We would like to assure you that my country will be an active member, a capable partner and an encouraging factor of cooperation," said Serreqi at Initiative foreign ministers meeting in Vienna on June 1, on the occasion of Albania's and other countries' admission to the CEI.

"Albania is ready to take a more active part in all the Initiative's activities and projects and its work groups," said Serreqi adding that Albania's readiness and devotion will also be based on the experience gained and the successes in the political and economic multilateral cooperation and integration.

Serreqi said that Albania considered that the CEI was offering an appropriate and realistic basis for the materialisation of many joint interests of the countries of Albania's region.

CEI: Central European Initiative Help B-H Peace Process

AU0106170196 Paris AFP in English 1623 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna, June 1 (AFP)—Foreign ministers of the 15-nation Central European Initiative said Saturday they wanted to play a more prominent role in firming up the Bosnian peace process.

In a statement at the end of a two-day conference here, they said they were willing to monitor elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina due to be held by mid-September, and would also help with reconstruction efforts.

They praised the implementation of military aspects of the Dayton accords on Bosnia, but said much remained to be done on civilian aspects.

Five countries—Albania, Belarus, Bulgaria, Romania and Ukraine—were admitted as new members to the organisation, which was set up in 1989 and has become a forum for economic and political cooperation.

The other 10 members are: Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Macedonia, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

Balkans: Bulgaria Trying To Arrange New Date for Balkan Meeting

AU0206153296 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0400 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bulgaria is trying to coordinate new dates for the Sofia meeting of Balkan foreign ministers, Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski said upon his return from Vienna.

In Vienna he met his colleagues from Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania, Macedonia [the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and Romania. They have confirmed the necessity of the Balkan countries issuing a declaration on developing regional

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cooperation. However, some of the countries invited to the meeting have difficulties with the proposed dates—8-9 June—and therefore we are trying to coordinate new dates, which will make possible the participation of all countries, Minister Pirinski said.

Balkans: Pirinski, FYROM's Frckovski Confer on Sofia Meeting

AU0206170396 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The A-1 independent Macedonian [the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] television channel reported today that within the framework of the Vienna meeting of the Central European Initiative, the foreign ministers of Bulgaria and Macedonia—Georgi Pirinski and Ljubomir Frckovski—have discussed the possibility of rescheduling the Sofia meeting of the southeast European countries' ministers of foreign affairs to the end of June.

Three Balkan states expressed reservations regarding the preliminary coordinated dates of the meeting on 8-9 June: Turkey, because of the Habitat Forum in Istanbul, Albania because of its elections problems, and Macedonia because of the nonparticipation of the first two countries.

According to the A-1 independent Macedonian television channel, despite the fact that Macedonia unofficially refused to participate if the meeting took place on the originally scheduled dates, the real reason for its reservations are related above all to treating it as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and not referring to it by its constitutional name, the Republic of Macedonia.

For its part, the Macedonian radio reported that, during the Vienna meeting of the Central European Initiative, new dates for the Sofia meeting had also been discussed by the foreign ministers of the other Balkan states.

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Albania: 'Irregularities' Force New Elections in 4 Districts

AU0106194396 Tirana ATA in English 1302 GMT 1 Jun 96

[By R. Floqi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, May 31 (ATA)—The Central Electoral Commission, after reconfirmation of constituency commissions, issues the following list of the candidates to take part in the second round of elections:

Constituency 20-Mirdita

1. The Republican Party—Gjon Mark Markagjoni

2. The Social-Democratic Union Party—Mark Gjon Ruci

Constituency 68-Elbasan

1. The Democratic Party—Tomorr Pellumb Langarica

2. The Republican Party—Bashkim Shuaip Hyseni

Constituency 71-Librazhd

1. The Democratic Party—Tomorr Kasem Malasi

2. The Republican Party—Qerim Kamber Dashi

Constituency 76-Lushnja

1. The Democratic Party—Gjovalin Koli Daka

2. The Balli Kombetar Party—Pellumb Rrapush Xhaferi

Constituency 97-Korca

1. The Democratic Party—Rexhep Hajdar Bregu

2. The Balli Kombetar Party—Luan Rasim Mollaj

Constituency 99-Pogradec

1. The Republican Party—Isa Vait Sinani

2. The Legaliteti League Party—Riza Islam Berberi

Constituency 108-Vlora

1. The Balli Kombetar Party—Duk Arben Muca

2. The Human Rights Union Party—Jorgji Dhimo Zaho

Constituency 110-Permet

1. The Democratic Party—Genc Stefanaq Pollo

2. The Republican Party—Perparim Njazi Skenderi

Constituency 111-Gjirokaster

1. The Democratic Party—Fatos Asllan Beja

2. The Balli Kombetar Party—Arshi Firuzan Peca

Based on complaints on May 30-31, 1996, the Central Electoral Commission examined the vote results in the constituency 67, Elbasan district. After a detailed study of the commissions' documentation and the ballot papers used for voting in this constituency, the Central Electoral Commission ascertained great irregularities in the ballot papers and in the implementation of the voting legal procedure and came to the conclusion that these irregularities have considerably affected the poll result in this constituency.

For these reasons, the Central Electoral Commission decided that elections be repeated also in the constituency 67, besides the three constituencies defined earlier.

The voting to be repeated in the constituencies defined by the Central Electoral Commission will be held at another date, which will be fixed by decree of the President of the Republic.

The electoral commission, alongside the chairman, secretary and a non party member, will also include two members of the parties, whose candidates will contest in the second round.

In the second round constituencies, the SP and other left opposition parties, have withdrawn their candidates.

Albania: PDK Denounces PS Move, Calls For New Elections

AU0206145596 Tirana ATA in English 1022 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 2 (ATA)—After examining the conduct and the result of the May 26 elections, Christian Democratic Party [PDK] denounces the withdrawal of Socialist Party [PS] and its allies from voting three hours before election closed, writes RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE [RD] today.

The Christian-Democrats think that this unprecedented act serves create a tense political climate.

Nevertheless, due to some irregularities noted during elections, PDK urges the Central Electoral Commission the annulment and a re-run of elections in Constituencies 3, 19, 22, 31, and 74 and state's commitment to guarantee free elections in the second polling round, RD writes.

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Albania: Second Round of Elections Begins in 9 Constituencies

AU0206145296 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The second round of elections has started today in nine constituencies in the country in which none of the candidates from various political parties managed to win the necessary majority of votes in the 26 May elections for the People's Assembly deputies. The second round is being held in Constituency 20 in the Mirdite district, Constituency 68 in Elbasan, Constituency 71 in Librazhd, Constituency 76 in Lushnje, Constituency 97 in Korce, Constituency 99 in Pogradec, Constituency 108 in Vlore, Constituency 110 in Permet, and Constituency 111 in Gjirokaster.

In the second round the Democratic Party [PD] will compete in six constituencies, the Republican Party in five constituencies, the National Front in four constituencies, and three other parties—the Human Rights Union [PBDNj], the Social Democratic Union, and the Legality Movement—each in one constituency.

As is known, in the first round of elections the PD candidates won in 95 of 115 constituencies, the Socialist Party won in five constituencies, and the PBDNj in two constituencies. In the second round of elections, two candidates will be voted for. The Central Election Commission has taken every possible measure in order that the second round of elections be held in full accordance with the Electoral Law and testify to a high democratic culture.

Albania: Opposition Begins Hunger Strike, Demands New Elections

AU0206160496 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to some papers today, the representatives of the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Alliance, and the National Unity Party are continuing the hunger strike begun on the afternoon of 31 May. According to the papers, the strikers have stated that they do not accept the partial elections, and will negotiate only if the 26 May elections are annulled and new elections proclaimed.

According to the medical team supervising them, the health condition of the hunger strikers is good in general, with the exception of some bloof pressure and stomach disorders.

Albania: National Front Leader Says Hunger Strike 'Illegal'

AU0206162496 Tirana ATA in English 1059 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 1 (ATA)—Deputy Chairman of the Balli Kombetar [National Front] Party Hysen Selfo, shortly after the left opposition's decisions to stage a hunger strike to protest against the May 26 elections, said he would be glad the hunger strike was considered illegal.

"We consider this act a continuation of the Red Front attempts to destabilise the country. At these moments we need to be calm and united for the national cause," Selfo said.

"The Balli Kombetar Party calls on the Albanian people to be calm and not deceived by the propaganda which for 50 years ruined Albania and the Albanian people. Communism is alien, entirely unacceptable to Albanians. The Albanians have belonged and still belong to the West, never to the East, where those who are on a strike try to install Albania," the newspaper ALBANIA cites Selfo as saying.

Albania: Berisha Claims PS Withdrawal Led to 'Irregularities'

AU0206151996 Tirana ATA in English 1221 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 2 (ATA)—Yesterday [1 June] President Sali Berisha met with the delegation of the Union for the Republic of France led by secretary general of this party group in the National Assembly, Christine Branchou.

Berisha expressed the gratitude for the continuous support of the Party of Union for the Republic, the party of President Chirac and Prime Minister Juppe for Democratic Party of Albania since its creation.

He said that immediate and unprecedented withdrawal from elections of the Socialist Party [PS] three hours before polling was over created conditions for irregularities in some constituencies.

Ms. Branchou congratulated President Berisha over the historic victory and said that the opposing stand of PS and other opposition parties regarding these elections shows that they are not in a position to tolerate such a landslide victory.

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Albania: President Berisha Admits Election 'Irregularities'

MS0306124196 London THE TIMES in English 3 Jun 96 p 13

[Report on interview with President Sali Berisha: "Albanian Leader Offers Poll Rerun as West Cries Foul"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] As Albania voted in a second round of elections marred by violence and fraud, President Berisha yesterday admitted that there had been irregularities and "unfair results". In an interview with The Times, he offered to defuse the national crisis and meet Western concerns by rerunning the polls "wherever it is necessary".

However, Dr Berisha did not specify whether the number of restaged elections would amount to the "partial rerun" demanded by the European Union and America. So far the electoral commission has ordered a rerun in four seats. But the Europeans and the Americans warned Dr Berisha over the weekend that Albania's relations with the West would "suffer" if democratic norms were not observed.

Speaking in the well-guarded presidential palace, Dr Berisha denied Albania was reverting to authoritarian rule or that he had developed dictatorial habits. He predicted that the Socialist opposition (the former Communists), who marked yesterday's voting with boycotts and hunger strikes, would enter parliament "within six months" to take up the seats they won in the first round a week ago but renounced because of ballot-box fraud.

"Some of them have already been in touch with me and are changing their minds," Dr Berisha said. The Socialists are sending delegates to the European Parliament today to press for a complete rerun of the vote. But diplomats said the opposition was as much to blame as the Government for the chaos.

Dr Berisha's ruling Democratic Party won 95 seats in the first round and the Socialists only five. Nine constituencies were at stake yesterday with a further 25 decided by proportional representation. The turnout was low, with only the Democrats and a handful of right-wing groups taking part.

The President, 51, appeared beleaguered and under strain. A dapper former heart surgeon who led the liberal opposition to the despotic Communist regime as it tottered in 1990, he is admired for his efforts to bring democracy and a market economy to his impoverished and backward country since coming to power in 1992. He has also helped to secure the Dayton peace accord by keeping the lid on tensions in Serb-controlled Kosovo, which is 90 per cent ethnic Albanian.

He has been deluged with criticism at home and abroad after Democratic officials allegedly stuffed ballot boxes to achieve the two-thirds majority Dr Berisha needs to reform the constitution and strengthen the ban on political activity by former officials of the Communist regime (the "genocide law").

The Socialists point out that Dr Berisha was also a Communist, although he says he was always "viewed with suspicion" by Enver Hoxha, the paranoid Communist dictator. The Socialists accuse the President of ordering police to crack down on opposition protests last Tuesday in Tirana's Skanderbeg Square. They have vowed to repeat the protest tomorrow.

Dr Berisha said Albania had "passed the test of history" by overthrowing the Hoxha regime, but he could not achieve miracles in only four years. Democratic values had to come from within. Albanian democracy cannot go as smoothly as cutting butter but it never was and never will be under threat.

The President said there had been "tensions and irregularities" at the polling stations. But Socialist activists had been caught filling in polling returns the night before the vote. When this "trick" failed, he said they withdrew from the election three hours before the polls closed.

"I have never heard of such a thing before," he declared. "Even the Khmer Rouge did not behave like that in Cambodia. It was an insult to democracy, to the electorate and to the principle of free voting. It was a betrayal of the people, who nonetheless continued to vote. I'm proud to say the turnout was 89 per cent."

Dr Berisha said there had been incidents involving "armed people" at the polling stations. But Albania did not have enough trained police to go round, and it took a long time to "develop democratic procedures like those in Britain's. Not a single voter had made a formal complaint against uniformed or plainclothes police," he said.

The President admitted that police had overreacted on Skanderbeg Square, but said the Socialists had been told their security could not be guaranteed and had demonstrated in defiance of a police ban. He regretted that opposition leaders and foreign journalists had been beaten, but said all incidents were being investigated. "I have to accept that I cannot expect a British-style police force in four years."

He said the election chaos and the opposition boycott would not affect Albania's pro-market and pro-Western orientation. "We want to join the West, and we will keep going in that direction until we have our place in Europe," Dr Berisha said.

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Albania: Arbnori Thanks CE Leader for 'Objective' Evaluation

AU0206163496 Tirana ATA in English 1929 GMT 1 Jun 96

["Arbnori Sends Letter to Ms. Fischer on Elections in Albania"—ATA headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 1 (ATA)—Chairman of Presidency of the People's Assembly of Albania Pjeter Arbnori has sent a letter regarding May 26 elections in Albania to the president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe [CE].

"First of all I would like to voice my profound gratitude as parliament speaker and leader of the Albanian delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe for your objective valuation regarding the unprecedented and premeditated withdrawal of some opposition parties in Albania."

Arbnori says in his letter that over 12 political parties took part in May 26 elections, and each of them had its representatives in the election commissions. Voting was monitored by many international organizations.

The premeditated and ordered withdrawal of some opposition parties showed that they were not in a position to accept the evident loss in elections. The letter says that the election result was not so unexpected as presented by many sources.

"In the March 1992 elections, Democratic Party [PD] won in 92 out of 100 constituencies, whereas Socialist Party [PS] won only in four constituencies. In the May 26, 1996 elections the result was as follows: PD won in 95 out of 115 constituencies and PS won in five constituencies. As seen, the results are much similar. The left wing defeat is linked with the leadership incriminated with the past and the State Sigurimi which has been so hateful for the past Albania," writes Arbnori.

The Human Rights Union Party and many other parties have reviewed their stand and will take part in the second round of elections due on June 2, 1996.

Arbnori said in his letter that "the left seats in the parliament will always be unoccupied and we invite them to review their decision because the democratic battlefield is in the parliament and not on the street."

"We respect legal demonstrations of all political parties and they have been and will be always free. At the same time the state bans illegal demonstrations with calls of destabilization, violent acts and confrontation," writes Arbnori.

"We call on and welcome numerous observers from Council of Europe and other organizations guaranteeing them full freedom. They will have all necessary facilities to monitor the second round of elections," the letter writes at the end.

Albania: Election Commission Chairman Comments on Voting

AU0206210396 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Jun 96

[Interview with Central Election Commission Chairman Edmir Kapidani by Reis Cico from the Palace of Congresses in Tirana—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cico] Dear Listeners: We are addressing you again from the Palace of Congresses, where the Central Election Commission [KQZ] is continuing its work. Let us speak with KQZ Chairman Edmir Kapidani. Mr. Chairman, how is the general procedure of balloting today?

[Kapidani] Even for the second round of elections the polls opened at 0700 [0500 GMT] this morning. The reports we have confirm that voting has proceeded in a very regular way, following all the procedures, in the nine constituencies in which the second round is being held. The latest reports we have reveal good voter participation, and particularly for the second round this is a very good figure. More specifically:

In Constituency 68 in Elbasan 53 percent have voted so far; in Constituency 71 in Librazhd 55 percent; in Constituency 76 in Lushnje 55-60 percent; in Constituency 108 in Vlore over 50 percent; in Constituency 111 in Gjirokaster 35-40 percent; in Constituency 110 in Permet 45 percent; in Constituency 97 in Korce 45 percent; in Constituency 99 in Pogradec 45 percent; and in Constituency 20 in Mirdite over 55 percent. As I said before, this level of participation is satisfactory for the second round of elections.

[Cico] Do you have an official confirmation about the election procedure? Is the voting proceeding normally and in accordance with the law?

[Kapidani] Regarding what has been broadcast on TV, but also from all information available, everything is proceeding in complete order.

[Cico] It is past 2000 now. I heard on Voice of America that the ballot boxes will be closed at 2200. What is the the case? When will the ballot boxes be closed?

[Kapidani] All the mass media and citizens know that the president's decree amended Article 64 to change the time from 2000 to 2200. Thus, both in the first and the second round, voting will close at 2200 in the evening.

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Also according to Article 64, amended by the president, if there are still people waiting at the polling stations after this time, the voting will continue until all the voters are finished.

[Cico] My last question is this: Is the balloting being followed by foreign observers?

[Kapidani] There has been interest by foreign observers from various countries, even for the second round of elections. We have issued certificates for observers from certain countries, and they have followed before and today the way elections were held and so forth. In the meetings we have held it was confirmed that the observers have been satisfied.

[Cico] Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Dear TV viewers, we will get in touch again if we have any interesting news.

Albania: Opposition Welcomes U.S. Statement on Elections

AU0306092696

[FBIS Report] The Albanian opposition parties publish in their newspapers on 2 June statements welcoming the U.S. State Department statement of 1 June on the conduct of the People's Assembly elections. The independent GAZETA SHQIPTARE writes, "The opposition had waited anxiously for the U.S. assessment of the elections as a final 'seal' giving the opposition parties the right to insist on their demands, especially for a rerun of the elections." The Democratic Party [PD] paper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE carries no direct coverage of the declaration.

The Socialist Party [PS] paper Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian carries on its front page the headline "The Entire Democratic World Rises Up Against the Manipulation and Violence of Sali Berisha's Regime," and refers the reader to the text of the State Department's statement on page two, under the headline, "The U.S. State Department Finds These Elections An Important Step Back Compared to Those of 1992." The paper also carries on page two a statement by the PS hunger strikers in the party headquarters in Tirana, under the headline "Socialist Strikers Thank the United States." This statement reads:

"The participants in the hunger strike, the PS's candidates for deputy, express their sincere thanks to the U.S. State Department amd the Presidency of the EU for the attention and interest they have shown in the 26 May elections, their concern at the violation of a free ballot, and their commitment to finding the best possible solution. We notice with satisfaction the interest of the United States and the EU in consolidating the development of democracy in Albania and not allowing any move backward.

"We express our trust that the ongoing commitment of the United States, the EU, and other international institutions will help to create a genuinely democratic climate so that the Albanian people will be given the rights denied them on 26 May to express their will in a democratic way."

The paper also carries on the same page a letter addressed by Congressman Tom Lantos to Secretary of State Christopher on 13 May, under the headline "Considerable Fear Has Spread Through the Country That the Government Will Use Security Forces To Scare the Voters."

The Center Pole's paper Tirana POLI I QENDRES in Albanian carries the text of the State Department's declaration on page two, and publishes on the same page a statement issued by Social-Democratic Party [PSD] Chairman Skender Gjinushi and Democratic Alliance [AD] President Neritan Ceka, issued in Tirana on 1 June, under the headline "The Parties of the Center Pole Welcome the Commitment of the United States and of European Governments." The statement reads:

"The presidiums of the PSD and the AD held a joint meeting yesterday examining recent developments and the positions taken by the governments of the United States and the countries of the EU over the elections of 26 May.

"Both parties welcome the interest and commitment of the U.S. and European governments and their assistance in overcoming the serious crisis created in Albania following the total rigging of the 26 May elections by the PD and the regime of force under its command.

"We express deep regret over the circumstances forcing the State Department to observe that the elections were a significant step backward in comparison with those of 1992. The anxieties expressed are a further confirmation of the serious violations of the voting procedures noticed from the start by the Center Pole, especially the presence of armed men that was the basis for the rigging and gave the elections the character of a PD coup d'etat. It was these armed men who provided the main support for the exertion of pressure and obliged us to remove our representatives and denounce the fraudulence of these elections.

"We support these governments' commitment to verifying and correcting these irregularities through a repeat of the elections. The Center Pole possesses full data proving violations on the same scale in all the constituencies, which it is ready to present as soon as conditions for international mediation are created."

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The independent Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian carries on page three an 800-word report by Elio Elini entitled "United States Demands a Partial Rerun of the Elections—Opposition Happy With U.S. View." The report quotes opinions of the State Department statement expressed by PS Deputy Chairman Namik Dokle, AD President Neritan Ceka, and PSD Chairman Skender Gjinushi. Dokle is quoted as saying, "It is one of the most important statements made by the world community so far. The State Department's statement on the 26 May elections is realistic and its view accords with what happened in Albania." Ceka is reported as saying, "I think it represents major support for Albanian democracy, and it seems to me that it defines the criteria for building relations between the United States and Albania in the future, in which the recognition of human rights will be the foundation stone." Gjinushi is quoted as saying, "The report particularly exposed the presence of armed men at the polling stations that were the main tool enabling the PD and the president to accomplish their coup d'etat on 26 May."

Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian, an independent newspaper close to the PS and Center Pole opposition parties, carries the text of the State Department statement on page three, together with an editorial, under the headline "United States: 1996 Elections a Step Backward for Democracy." The editorial states:

"The elections of 1996 were a step backward after those organized four years ago, when the last communist president Ramiz Alia was still in power. This was the strong statement issuing from the State Department yesterday. However, the U.S. statement does not confine itself merely to illustrating the flagrant violations that foreign observers noticed and remarking that the clock of Albanian democracy has begun to move in a different direction to that of the West. Yesterday's statement says that these irregularities cast a shadow on the prospects for democratic progress that remain the foundation stone of relations between the United States and Albania. Once again in its most recent statement, in which Albania is described as a country moving not toward democracy but toward a functioning market economy, the State Department shows that Washington now has no preference among the parties. As they made known even before the parliamentary elections, U.S. officials are virtually indifferent who takes over or leaves the presidential chair, while they are very strict in studying the functioning of democracy and human rights and freedoms. Appealing to this principle, the State Department has once again called on the government and all the Albanian parties to strengthen democratic institutions in Albania.

"In the name of this principle, all the Western chancelleries are calling on the political forces to declare their alternatives and to find a path of consensus. What is important for the West is normalizing the situation and stabilizing Albania. The West will therefore send its congratulations to those who find the 'magic formula' to extract Albania from the fiasco of 26 May. On this day, the PD and Berisha showed that their alternative is violence, and now the opposition will be put to the test."

The PD's Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian does not mention the State Department statement, but carries on page six a boxed item under the headline "'The United States Will Help to Consolidate Democracy'—Says Mr. Timothy Worth, U.S. Secretary of State for Global Issues." The entire item, a quotation of Worth, states: "The United States will continue to be committed to helping the further development of democracy in Albania. The successful conduct of the elections will enable us to do this, but if the elections are not successful, and negative and dark forces win, or if they try to win, this will of course reduce the enthusiasm of the Americans and the Europeans for cooperation with Albania."

Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian, which reflects the interests of Kosovar Albanians and consistently supports the PD, does not mention the State Department's statement.

Albania: Opposition Election Officials Said Ex-Sigurimi Members

AU0206163796 Tirana ATA in English 1102 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, June 1 (ATA)—Left opposition members of the May 26 electoral commissions in districts, that is, of the Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Party, and of the Democratic Alliance Party have been former senior officials of the State Security (Sigurimi), the newspaper ALBANIA says today citing Interior Ministry sources. The sources also issue the full lists of the Sigurimi officials who served as commission members or observers in different constituencies on May 26.

Today's newspaper ALBANIA carries the nominal list and the functions of some 50 people, commission members or observers of the left opposition in the former Sigurimi.

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Bulgaria: Stoyanov Wins Presidential Primaries

AU0206144896 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0400 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At 3,333 polling stations throughout the country on 1 June, the united democratic opposition conducted presidential primaries for the election of a single opposition presidential candidate. More than 600,000 Bulgarian citizens took part in the voting. According to preliminary results, Petur Stoyanov, the candidate for the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], is the clear winner of the elections.

According to forecasts by the NBMV Sociological Polls Agency, 74 percent of the voters voted for Petur Stoyanov and 24 percent for President Zhelyu Zhelev, candidate of the People's Union coalition.

Here are the first commentaries. You will hear the voices of Petur Stoyanov, Ivan Kostov [SDS leader], and Anastasiya Mozer [leader of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union—BZNS].

[Begin Stoyanov recording] The very fact that the opposition signed an agreement on elections for a single presidential candidate was in my opinion the first political victory of the Bulgarian opposition, prior to the real presidential elections. I think that today we can congratulate ourselves with a major victory—the mass participation of the democratic public in the primaries. [end recording]

[Begin Kostov recording] This is a very important signal, which showed that the expectations of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], namely, that the opposition would not be able to organize and conduct the primaries, totally failed. This means that the opposition is significantly better organized and capable of conducting an incredibly major political demonstration. It has the power for this and can successfully do it. Do not forget that the people went to the polling stations from the lines for bread. They left the lines for bread and joined the lines in front of the polling stations. This is a very important fact that shows that the Bulgarian democratic voters demonstrated an incredible civic maturity. [end recording]

[Begin Mozer recording] The important thing is the great activity of the people. This shows that Bulgarian voters are overcoming the grave situation, crises, and bankruptcy, and are ready to demonstrate their civic courage. This bodes well for a state. [end recording]

According to the Central Primaries Commission, the elections have taken place calmly and without any incidents. All the problems that emerged were resolved immediately on the spot. Sofia had the highest voting participation—more than 130,000 people—followed by Varna, Plovdiv, and Burgas. Additional ballots had to be sent to those cities.

The leaders of the SDS and the People's Union expressed exceptional satisfaction with the voters' activity and highly assess their civic maturity. At the same time, they were unanimous that the mass participation in the opposition primaries is a no-confidence vote in Zhan Videnov's cabinet and the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

The Central Primaries Commission will work throughout the day. The final results will officially be announced by the opposition's Political Council tomorrow.

Bulgaria: Use, Effects of Primary Election Analyzed

AU0306104996 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 3 Jun 96 p 4

[Commentary by Valentin Stoev: "Successful Precedent"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Political pessimists would probably say today that the 800,000 voters who participated in the primaries to decide the opposition's single presidential candidate represent only a third of the voters who voted for the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the People's Union in the last parliamentary elections. On the basis of this fact, they could say that the number of opposition voters has decreased two-thirds. The difference in the figures indeed suggests this, but one cannot compare internal-party elections with parliamentary ones. The internal-party election in itself was a risky precedent in the political history of Bulgaria (and Europe). In addition, the mobilization of voters during parliamentary elections is much higher.

The opposition's 1 June experiment succeeded, and the election of Petur Stoyanov as the single candidate is more than real. Perhaps Petur Stoyanov won because of his new face, but nevertheless, his contribution to the victory is significant, when considered a part of the changing face of the SDS. Since the election of Ivan Kostov as SDS leader, the union has been making a great effort to change and modernize itself.

Zhelyu Zhelev has suffered a serious defeat. Let it not be perceived as a disaster, but it is very possible that after the November elections one will talk about the current president only in the past tense. His place in history is undoubtedly reserved, unless the five years in which he has served as president have twisted his dignity and, at the cost of humiliating himself, he should continue to run for a second term in the real elections, despite the fact that he signed an agreement to the contrary.

The primaries have demonstrated their advantages. Perhaps they will not remain a one-time example in Bulgar-

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ian history. Perhaps the Bulgarian Socialist Party will think about this matter?

Bulgaria: Pirinski's Ambition Seen Foiling Balkan Meeting

AU3105135196 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 31 May 96 p 3

[Article by Milena Boyadzhieva: "Pirinski Finds Himself Entangled in Diplomatic Blunders and Balkan Scandals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Georgi Pirinski has finally foiled the meeting of Balkan foreign ministers, despite the fact that the meeting has clearly been in preparation since the winter. The underlying objective of the forum was not diplomatic, as it was supposed to appear, but rather a propaganda effect. It was supposed to underline the Bulgarian foreign minister's ability to gather his Balkan colleagues in one place with a single goal, despite the fact that everyone knows that each of them is pulling the cart in different directions. Pirinski hoped that the people would be impressed with his ability, while the voters would prefer him to Videnov's man—[National Assembly Chairman] Sendov [as a presidential candidate of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP].

However, the hopes of the "better" socialist candidate collapsed because his ambition to subordinate the Balkan meeting to his own career interests foiled the meeting. First, Slovenia refused to participate, saying that it does not consider itself a Balkan state. Then Croatia diplomatically promised to send observers, but yesterday withdrew even that intention. Sofia's response was styled in the best "revival" traditions [reference to ethnic Turkish name-changing campaign]—the meeting was renamed a meeting of Southeast European foreign ministers.

The next act was the ostensibly pointless quarrel with Turkey about dates. For months, Turkey has been claiming that the dates between 3-14 June are inconvenient. However, our diplomats decided to resolve the matter on their own and, who knows why, selected 8-9 June, dates which our southern neighbor had said were inconvenient. This was probably because on 8-9 June, 20 Positano Street [BSP headquarters] will hold another of its plenums devoted to the presidential elections—a suitable occasion for one of the candidates to demonstrate his power and ability.

The most blunders, however, were committed in connection with the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], which still has not confirmed its participation. Let us recall that in April Pirinski canceled his visit to Macedonia, ostensibly because of the language problem. Now it appears that our Foreign Ministry cannot even remember the name of the neighboring state. In 1992, Bulgaria was the first to recognize the Republic of Macedonia. So far nobody in Bulgaria has dared to question this fact. However, today it emerged that the nameplate in front of the Skopje delegation will not bear the name of a state, but the name of the Macedonian foreign minister. This is a case of having one's cake (we will side with the countries that do not recognize the name of the Republic of Macedonia), and eating it too (i.e. our western neighbors will not grasp the fact that the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry does not dare to print the name of a country it has already recognized).

However, this supposedly elegant trick did not work in Skopje, and only the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry diplomats could not understand this. It is well known that the Balkans is a cauldron, and diplomacy here must be conducted not only with courage, but also with skill and tact. When the 1992 government of the Union of Democratic Forces was the first to recognize the four former Yugoslav republics, it was attacked from all directions because of its courage. Time has shown how right this move was. However, if now, in 1996, somebody wants to become a Balkan leader he must at least take into consideration the interests of our neighbors and seek mutually beneficial solutions. If he does not have the necessary power and skill, he had better keep silent than generate new disasters.

Bulgaria: Lukanov Said Planning Videnov Ouster With U.S.

AU0306081896 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 30 May 96 p 9

[Article by Nevena Gyurova: "Lukanov Digs Out the Hatchet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Andrey Lukanov's wing greeted the beginning of the structural reform with obvious approval. He himself declared his support for the prime minister and the reform. Andrey Raychev, the self-proclaimed spokesman for the "right wing of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]," promised a moratorium on the combat actions against the government.

Two weeks later, however, Andrey Lukanov changed course. In an interview for CAPITAL, he declared war on Videnov and called for him to be removed. Indeed, this is not the first time Lukanov has changed course by 180 degrees. At a mass rally just days before he relinquished power in December 1990, he vowed that he would remain in power. In May 1995, he promised to resign from the National Assembly as soon as Topenergy was registered. Yet, in the fall he was still

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explaining why he had decided to remain an Assembly deputy. His current turnabout, however, is not just the result of his characteristic flexibility and wide range of interests. Evidently something significant has happened since the plenum at which Lukanov expressed support for the government and the beginning of the reform. In his interview, he does not explain why he did not call for a new cabinet and an extraordinary congress at the plenum, and the journalist does not ask him why he changed his opinion.

Nevertheless, the motives behind his political pirouette shine treacherously between the lines of his interview. In order to understand them, one must remember that Lukanov's public statements are characterized by a high degree of stereotypes and cliches. Attacking the BSP's (meaning Videnov's) way of governing, he releases his favorite cliche "Stalinism," and then begins to talk about a "distortion of the Latin America variety." This statement does not seem to fit in logically with the interview as a whole, and it raises certain questions. It is clear what Latin Americanization of social and economic life is. Is this concept relevant to party life, however, and how? There is no reply. Since it is not logic that apparently caused Lukanov to include this statement in his interview, it seems that something else prompted him to deviate from his usual stereotypes, something that was psychologically important for him—perhaps the lunch with Richard Schifter, envoy of the U.S. State Department. Schifter is close to one of the U.S. special services and an expert on the "Chilean variant." It has been claimed that he gave the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] strategic assistance in 1990, while the rallies at which the participants knocked on empty pots were our contribution to the Latin American original. It remains unclear in what capacity Lukanov met Schifter and why, but two or three days later he began to talk about replacing Videnov and Latin Americanization.

All these facts fit together in the same mosaic—Lukanov and Schifter agreed that the cabinet should be replaced shortly before or after actually receiving the loan from the IMF (October-November). Until then, social tension will be fanned and directed by means of appropriate technologies, and the BSP will replace Videnov under the pressure of popular discontent (strikes, civil disobedience, hunger riots). The Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], the People's Union, the Bulgarian Business Bloc, and some parts of the SDS will create a "national salvation" majority. Videnov and a few people around him will be blamed for everything. Then Pirinski or Tsochev will enter on a white horse as the personification of national consensus and a peaceful transition. (For this scenario one will need several "unruly" scenes to serve as a scarecrow—a fire or two and a destroyed building. Lukanov and Schifter have not forgotten 1990). With the IMF money, the new prime minister will deal with the most pressing socioeconomic problems. A sense of relief will be felt by the people, and this will boost the public's confidence in the new prime minister. The financial-economic circles behind Lukanov will receive their due and will perpetuate their power and property under the conditions of the reform. When the zones of influence in the Balkans are determined the United States will have a stable pro-Atlantic government as a partner. The only bad thing—the next five or six months will be very interesting. In this context one must remember one of the most terrible Chinese curses: "May you live in interesting times."

Bulgaria: BSP Figures Criticize Videnov, Cabinet

AU0306103396 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Jun 96 pp 1-2

[DUMA PRESS report: "Zhan Videnov Refuses To Reshuffle Cabinet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zhan Videnov has categorically refused to reshuffle his cabinet. "I would not resign, even if the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council instructs me to do so. I also do not intend to step down, or to anticipate unidentified proposals to change the cabinet and ponder over them," he said after the five-hour discussion at the BSP national conference, which later developed into a BSP Supreme Council plenum. The prime minister is convinced that cabinet changes will not predetermine the success of the inevitable economic measures.

Videnov said this is his response to the proposal of Stefan Prodev [DUMA chief editor] as to how to end the meeting. According to Prodev, the meeting was to ask Videnov to make serious and rapid changes in the cabinet, or otherwise Videnov should submit the resignation of the entire government, after which the BSP parliamentary faction would propose that he form a new socialist cabinet.

Earlier, the prime minister had spoken about the urgent unpopular measures that must be effected in order to overcome the crisis.

Kosta Andreev also demanded that the entire government be replaced. Boyan Kirov, Georgi Bozhinov, Mincho Minchev, Stefan Stoilov, and others also demanded cadre changes in the cabinet.

The conference supported the painful economic reforms that are to be carried out. The participants noted, however, that the unfavorable political and psychological atmosphere in which the reforms will be carried out is

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the result of the government's serious mistakes in the last year and a half.

According to Boycho Rashkov, the grain crisis is one of the obvious mistakes. In 1995, there were the highest exports of grain, despite the fact that the harvest was very poor. Now grain must be immediately imported. The government should adopt a decision to increase purchasing prices, which would stimulate producers to increase production after the next harvest.

On behalf of the socialist writers, Valeri Petrov recommended that the game of half-truths be ended, an open dialogue be started with the people, the culprits be punished, and work with the media no longer be underestimated.

The replacement of certain ministers might be unjust because they have worked hard and prudently; but it is inevitable if we are to regain the people's confidence. Otherwise we will not withstand the pressure, Boyan Kirov said.

According to Professor Stefan Stoilov, the collapse of the lev was not inevitable. Mistakes were made, but Todor Vulchev [former National Bank governor] should not be a scapegoat. The socialists also acted as a lobby for giving licenses to banks. Serious mistakes were made by ministers who ignored the IMF recommendations and opposed the declared policy of structural reforms and selling major industrial enterprises in 1995.

Valeri Radnev from Bobov Dol said that this was the last time he was giving his vote of confidence to Videnov.

Kosta Andreev said that many of the current troubles could have been spared if Videnov and the government had listened to the voice of the people. ZEMYA's chief editor is also convinced that the protectors of the cabinet, who reject any criticism of it, have contributed most to the present state of the cabinet. Some of those protectors reacted strongly after Andreev's statement.

Georgi Bozhinov thinks that the government is the arena of a clash of economic interests. He demanded that at a suitable opportunity a debate be held about ethics among the deputies. Without naming them, he called upon those deputies who prefer to deal with business and serve various groups to resign from the National Assembly. I saw a request to appoint a criminal to a high-ranking post, Bozhinov said.

Nikola Koychev wanted to see less liberalism among the government's economic team. The chairman of the BSP Supreme Council Economic Commission cited as examples the violation of the election promises—increasing taxes, closing down vital enterprises, and total monetarism. Koychev said that the cabinet has agreed to humiliating conditions posed by the IMF. The $465 million promised by the IMF could also have been provided by Bulgaria's own potential. It is idiotic to close down enterprises when there is a market for their products, the deputy said, commenting on the list of enterprises that will be closed down.

Mincho Minchev, leader of the "Marxist Platform," recommended reshuffle the cabinet, improve the work of the BSP Supreme Council and Executive Bureau, and organize a rally against the monarchism and political blackmail of the rightist forces. He called the national consensus "political infantilism."

Professor Chavdar Kyuranov immediately reacted to this statement. The leader of the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] thinks that the parliamentary faction's policy is completely based on a confrontational foundation. Now Videnov is requesting the support of the parliamentary forces, but the party should have done this before when it was strong. Kyuranov expressed concern about the fact that unscrupulous struggles are going on in the BSP. He suggested to the ministers to relinquish their arrogance, stop claiming that there is no grain crisis, and begin a sincere dialogue with the people.

Our work style is our greatest enemy, Nikolay Kamov said. "We have begun to look so much like the Union of Democratic Forces that I fear we will end up like them. We have rejected the capable people and encouraged the plotters in our party. Our activists, who made our victory possible, do not deserve to be cursed on the streets, they bear no guilt," Kamov said. He thinks that the BSP must be more convincing than in March in assuming responsibility for everything. Kamov again demanded changes in the BSP Executive Bureau.

The BSP Supreme Council plenum on the issue of the presidential elections continued until late in the night.

Bulgaria: Videnov Reportedly Agrees to Personnel Changes

AU0306100496 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Jun 96 pp 1-2

[DUMA PRESS report: "Zhan Videnov Must Propose Cadre Changes on 8 June"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zhan Videnov agreed to propose personnel changes in his cabinet after the 31 May meeting, lasting nine hours, in which he was subjected to the persuasion of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council. Shortly before midnight, the plenum adopted a decision that sets the exact date of the changes—8 June. On this date, another plenum will take place. This must determine the BSP presidential

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candidate. In addition, at the insistence of Aleksandur Lilov, the BSP chairman was obliged to present a political analysis of the situation at the same forum.

The Friday plenum supported the cabinet's intentions to effect financial stabilization in the country and the related actions, as outlined in the prime minister's report. The BSP Supreme Council noted the exceptionally grave economic and social situation and expressed concern with the growing social tension. Therefore, the plenum demanded that Videnov report on 8 June on the additional measures that have been adopted for the rapid guarantee of the bread supply and overcoming the shortage of the most necessary goods.

At the same plenum, Videnov will propose personnel changes in the BSP Executive Bureau. This is what Nikolay Kamov demanded. According to him, the incumbent ministers must leave the Executive Bureau so that it can function as a party organ.

There will be changes in the cabinet, but not under pressure, Videnov said on Saturday on the regular Panorama program of the Bulgarian National Television, and added that he will not replace ministers merely to satisfy public opinion. The ministers are not pieces of Lego, which can be arranged in any possible combination, he said.

The most difficult part of the plenum was to convince the leader of the necessity to part with some of his ministers and propose extraordinary measures so that the people would no longer have to wait in line. From Videnov's words, one could understand that the vessels with grain are sailing toward Bulgaria, that transportation and foreign currency schemes are being worked out, and generally, that "there is no need to adopt extraordinary measures to please society. The problem is being resolved through hard work."

The prime minister repeatedly linked the changes in the cabinet he was requested to make, with personal confidence in himself.

"A new cabinet with a new prime minister," and "a new economic team with a new program," he said tersely, stressing that it is illogical for the BSP Supreme Council to adopt economic programs for overcoming the crisis, and to reject the people who have prepared those programs.

"Zhan, you do not have a problem with our confidence, but the party has a problem with the people's confidence," Mariyana Khristova told the prime minister. Afterward, Nikolay Kamov explained that the economic measures are very grave, and if the party wants the people to greet them at least with understanding, then the people must have confidence in the people who would implement those measures. Confidence in the cabinet has significantly decreased, and it is not commensurate to the weight of the measures, Kamov said.

How can we have confidence in the deputy prime ministers when they have made some of the most inadequate statements in recent days, Yanaki Stoilov asked.

Minister of Agriculture Svetoslav Shivarov was the only one whose name was directly mentioned when changes were demanded. According to Boncho Rashkov, the style and method of work of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry evoke concern. The professionalism of its employees is very low. The deputy ministers on whom the BSP relied, are planning to resign because they cannot work with Shivarov, Stefan Stoilov said and added: "Around the prime minister there should not be people who deceive him, accumulate antipathy, and do not act in a proper manner."

Videnov refused to comment on the "Shivarov" problem, because for him it is a coalition matter. However, it is assumed that today, or tomorrow at the latest, the BSP Supreme Council will discuss precisely this issue.

Aleksandur Lilov and Andrey Lukanov essentially did not take part in the discussion. In this context, one of the Supreme Council members asked: "Why did you leave this boy to govern alone? Are we not a party because we must help each other, rather than enjoy the spectacle of him now?"

Bulgaria: BSP Forum Demands Videnov Make Changes

AU0306120196 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 1 Jun 96 p 1

[Article by Svetlana Belousova: "BSP Demands Government Change"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosta Andreev, member of the Democratic Left parliamentary faction, requested at yesterday's national conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] that the entire government be replaced, rather than effect a cabinet reshuffle, participants in the forum report.

He described the most serious problem at the moment—the bread shortage—as a chronic crisis. Nikola Koychev criticized the government for its economic policy, but pointed out that for the time being he does not want to join the ranks of those who demand resignations. Koychev, and later, Nikolay Kamov, demanded a new style of governing on the part of the BSP. At Kamov's insistence, the participants adopted a decision in acceding to which the upcoming BSP Supreme Council plenum

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"will have to oblige Zhan Videnov to effect personnel changes in the BSP Executive Bureau."

Kamov also said that "it is impossible that some people will continue to act as ministers for six hours every Tuesday at the regular meeting of the BSP Executive Bureau, and be party leaders the rest of the time." Aleksandur Lilov said to journalists that changes in the cabinet are imperative, although they are already belated. The changes must be preceded by a profound analysis.

Boyan Kirov also demanded "drastic changes," in the cabinet. Yuriy Borisov thinks that the BSP parliamentary faction lacks the will to impose personnel changes in or a comprehensive replacement of Videnov's cabinet. Only Klara Marinova and Emiliya Tomova spoke in support of the government.

According to participants in the meeting, the main motif was that the crisis in the people's confidence in the cabinet is great, and even the BSP voters do not believe the government any longer. Stefan Stoilov recalled that since the beginning of the banking crisis the population has purchased almost $500,000, and keeps it at home. Boncho Rashkov sharply asserted that the administration of the Ministry of Agriculture is incompetent.

Zhan Videnov declared at the plenum that at a moment when the radical structural reform is beginning he will not replace any ministers, and that he will do it when he deems it necessary. The prime minister will await the signing of the agreement with the IMF at the end of June and then make the changes in his cabinet the Socialists are demanding. This is the opinion of BSP deputies.

Bulgaria: Journalists Visit Former Secret Firing Range

AU0306124296 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 1 Jun 96 p 5

[STANDART NEWS staff report: "Secret Warsaw Pact Firing Range Revealed in Sredna Gora"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The only artillery firing range in the former Warsaw Pact was publicly revealed on 31 May. Journalists and experts from North Korea, Ukraine, and Germany were allowed to visit Unit 26940 in Sredna Gora to view the testing of Bulgarian-produced artillery, missile, and infantry weapons. The firing range, which has an area of 960 square kilometers, is suitable for testing ground-to-air and air-to-air missiles at ranges up to 28 km, gunnery officers explained. According to Deputy Defense Minister Boris Radev, the range may become self-financing if it starts carrying out orders from foreign clients. At present, firing a single artillery round costs about 50,000 leva. Radev added that the 100 T-72 tanks and 100 armored personnel carriers that we are awaiting from Russia have already been loaded onto railroad cars in Siberia. He said that they are expected to be delivered within a few days by ships of the Black Sea Fleet as soon as the presidential elections are over in Russia.

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Czech Republic: Election Winners Debate Results

LD0206210796 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 1000 GMT 2 Jun 96

[Studio debate hosted by unidentified moderator—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Moderator] [Passage omitted] I would like to welcome in our studio representatives from all parties that won this year's elections. I welcome Jiri Vlach, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]; Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD]; Josef Lux, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL]; Miroslav Grebenicek, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM]; and Jan Kalvoda, chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA]. Before starting I would like to say that the chairman of the sixth party that will enter the Chamber of Deputies, Miroslav Sladek, was also invited but again failed to arrive, as happened last night. [passage omitted]

Gentlemen, what do these elections mean for you? Mr. Vlach, please.

[Vlach] It naturally means that the right wing has won in this country. I must admit I am unable to tell you exactly the place of Mr. Sladek's party [Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia] on that right-left scale, drawing on its statements and manners in parliament and outside it. The right wing has gained 99 mandates against 70, in fact 83 mandates [sentence as heard]. This means a certain confirmation of the existing trend.

I am not saying that I am delighted by the results. I did believe that the voters would give slightly better marks for what has been achieved here. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Chairman Sladek, you are the only one among the winning parties' officials not to have so far commented on the election results. Are you happy with them? You have gained 8 percent. This is after all less than you have promised, inasmuch as you promised 25 or 20 percent. Are you content?

[Sladek] [Passage omitted] Something that I regret is that not enough voters took part in the elections, above all those who are dissatisfied. I think that this is probably the biggest problem of this year's elections.

Otherwise, as far as the result of the Republicans is concerned, I think it is very, very good. [passage omitted] Given the fact that the current government coalition has 99 seats, I think that the coalition talks will certainly not be easy. I do expect that we might have early parliamentary elections, before the year 2000. [passage omitted]

[Zeman] I already said in one television debate that the terms left wing and right wing belong to the 19th century, and to some extent they are now devoid of meaning. It is more sensible to describe political parties by their value system. As Chairman Lux has said, parties can be described by their preferences: Some parties emphasize solidarity, some ecology, some social aspects. [passage omitted]

I repeat the promise given to our electors: We will never form a grand coalition with the Civic Democratic Party because this will be tantamount to deceiving and betraying our electorate. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Mr. Zeman, you have now said something that you have never said before: You spoke only of the ODS, while yesterday you mentioned some other parties as well.

[Zeman] It is quite obvious that I mean both alternatives. I apologize: You know one does not like to repeat oneself. [passage omitted] I repeat: I absolutely rule out the possibility of a grand coalition. [passage omitted]

I believe that early elections will be the least happy solution for the citizens of this country. [passage omitted] In such a short time, attitudes will not change much, and we will spend another billion Czech korunas that we could use for our hard-pressed health system or elsewhere. On the other hand, I think that, if we succeed in getting through the idea of regional self-government, there should be no obstacles to holding parliamentary elections alongside regional and local elections in 1998 because this will be a cheaper option than repeating the elections now.

[Sladek] Mr. Chairman, can you be straightforward? Will you form a coalition with Mr. Zeman? Yes or no?

[Lux] [Passage omitted] I have said a thousand times that we will prefer the existing coalition. We will therefore try to do our utmost in the talks. To speak plainly—and I have already told you this (?in Studio Seven) on Nova television—we cannot imagine forming a coalition with you.

[Sladek] I would not want not to form a coalition with you, either. I will repeat to you what has been said in (?Studio Seven): You, the People's Party, have shown in the past that you always join the winner, whoever it may be.

[Lux] You have heard what I have said.

[Moderator] This question is addressed to the chairmen of the opposition parties. If the government is formed by the current coalition parties, will you support such a government and its program statement? My

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second question is meant above all for Mr. Grebenicek, the chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia. If this is not the case and the government is formed by CSSD Chairman Milos Zeman going into coalition with the other parties of the current coalition—I mean with the Civic Democratic Alliance and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, to be specific—will you support such a government?

[Grebenicek] I have clearly said that we intend to act in parliament in a constructive manner. [passage omitted]

To be honest, if the right-wing government in its existing form assumes power and carries on with the same policies as it has done so far, this will be unacceptable to us. I am saying this with full responsibility. [passage omitted]

I think I will not harm the Social Democrats if I say that I know their election program and that it includes things to which—if I look at them as a member of the general public—I will feel attracted. If they go on to implement them, I think they will receive support. However, the thing I would like to stress is that we are not taking the path of silent support. We will behave like a full-fledged political body, and we will be heard.

[Moderator] All right, all right. However, it is still support. Mr. Zeman, how will you deal with such support? You have been maintaining that you will never form a coalition with the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

[Zeman] We can form coalitions, which means a specific government structure and a specific policy statement, only with the parties we have already named. We said we did not want to form a coalition with them [Communist Party], and this statement is still valid.

On the other hand, there is naturally a chance that a minority government could be formed. There are two options. Parliamentary support for the minority government is up to all of the political parties represented in parliament.

In my view, several possible combinations exist. I personally would welcome, for example, the Czechoslovak People's Party, despite its election results, having far greater influence in the future government. This is not meant to flatter Chairman Lux. I am saying this because I think he could be a link between the ODS and the CSSD. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] But communist support will, indeed, be handy for you?

[Zeman] We start from the fact that our basic interest is to continue the process of transformation of this country and not return to the period before 17 November 1989. Please remember that, although there were many communist and fascist dictatorships, thank God there has never been a single social democratic dictatorship in the world.

What this means is that we differ from the ODS, and to some extent also from ODA and the Czechoslovak People's Party in that we regard very many of the aspects of the transformation process as being profoundly bad. [passage omitted]

We agree—and this has to be said quite clearly—on two basic aspects: This country needs political democracy, this country needs the market economy. There is no way of going back.

[Moderator] Chairman Sladek, to round things up: What do you think about the first and second option for the government? Yes or no?

[Sladek] You want me to say yes or no, despite the fact that someone has been rambling nonstop for a half-hour? So, I will now say what I have to say.

First, my choice is rather easy. Although it is clear that neither of the sides—that is, half or almost half of parliament—is unable to get the coalition off the ground without the support of my party, the majority of the party chairmen present in this debate view us as some marginal group.

The next thing is that we keep ignoring the future. [passage omitted]

The next point is: I want to assure not only you, but also all of the citizens that this parliament, which will shortly begin to work, will be totally different from that of the 1992-96 period, when it was some kind of waste disposal site or a B-team in a local competition.

You should prepare yourselves for this parliament being something considerably different and for the fact that its work will have to be carried out in a considerably different manner. [passage omitted]

As for our support, the government coalition parties have, of course, never shown any interest in it, and Mr. Zeman keeps constantly offending us and so is burning all of his bridges. Thus, I think that the ideal solution will be to call new parliamentary elections.

[Moderator] Thank you.

[Zeman] [Words indistinct] What seems important to me, precisely because we have discussed responsibility and a sense of clear direction, is that no future government will able to build its existence on the support of my two colleagues. Of this I am convinced.

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[Sladek] Mr. Grebenicek and I are being continuously marginalized here, but let me say that it is a bit much if in a group of six one party rules out forming a coalition no matter what with two others. Whatever you do you will not be able to form a government. [passage omitted]

[Zeman] Mr. Sladek, I am sure you can count. If two of us, the Civic Democratic Party and the Czech Social Democratic Party, were cynical pragmatic politicians—and you used to claim that the ODS and CSSD had made a secret agreement—you will realize that our seats put together could provide us with a constitutional majority, and, as a result, we will have a very comfortable and a rather nonfunctional government. But, because we are not cynical pragmatists and we are more interested in our program than in a comfortable rule—and with 125 seats in parliament it will a damned comfortable rule—we are not forming a grand coalition, and this is where you are wrong. [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: Party Leaders Examine Election Results

LD0106225496 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 2009 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Unidentified correspondent] Let me welcome Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]; Milos Zeman, chairman of the Social Democrats [Czech Social Democratic Party, CSSD]; Josef Lux, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL]; Miroslav Ransdorf, deputy chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM]; and Jan Kalvoda, chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA]. [passage omitted]

Gentlemen, the question of what was at stake in this year's elections was asked many times today. I would like you to tell me briefly what your personal views or the views of your parties, are on this.

[Klaus] [Passage omitted] It is evident that this election campaign was about whether we will continue on the course we set out on six years ago, or whether we will take a turn to the left as we were lured by Zeman and Ransdorf to do. The election campaign was about this. [passage omitted]

I believe that most people were not seduced by the Left. I think that this is what the election was about. It is clear that the current coalition will need to gain a few more percent of the vote, and thus a few more seats. [passage omitted] I firmly believe that this will happen and that we will have a chance to continue the current course and will not do what the other postcommunist countries have done—return to the Left, return to methods that have failed so many times and that are being offered to us again and were offered to us in the election-manifestos of these parties. [passage omitted]

[Zeman] I think the elections were about which of the two principal political trends of thought, common throughout Western Europe, will win in this country. [passage omitted]

I consider silly the accusation that the Social Democrats intend to reverse the developments in this country. [passage omitted]

During our election campaign we did not promise the wages of 20,000 Czech korunas and did not give away free portions of goulash. We tried to convince the voters with the same arguments that are being used by all West European social democratic parties. [passage omitted] It was simply a traditional contest between two standard political concepts. [passage omitted]

[Klaus] All of us in this country will probably have to wait and see what future developments will be and what the development of the Social Democrats will be, in the light of the announcement by Mr. Zeman, the Czech Social Democratic Party chairman, that he will resign if he does not win the elections—and it seems now that he will not manage to do so. This might considerably shake up our political spectrum.

It is possible that some fragmentation will occur again because I am sure that it was his charismatic personality that has led all those in the opposition in this country to unite. Since he will resign now, because it looks like he will not win, everything might be completely different. [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: KSCM Head Sets Conditions To Support Coalition

LD0206150396 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] will not support the government formed by the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. This is what KSCM Chairman Miroslav Grebenicek told Czech radio.

[Begin Grebenicek recording] We will be driving a hard bargain. We can hardly lend our support to the coalition comprising the Civic Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, and the Civic Democratic Alliance if their plan is to continue their present policies, the policies that caused very serious upheavals to our citizens.

However, if there should be another policy that would properly address the social and economic aspects of the market economy, we would consider it. [end recording]

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Czech Republic: Zeman: No Backing for Present Coalition

LD0206165596 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD], told Czech radio about possible support in parliament for the new government formed from the parties of the present government coalition:

[begin Zeman recording] The CSSD went to the election as a positive party with a clear profile. Having scored success in the election, the CSSD can certainly not give its backing to the coalition and its present political goals because this would be tantamount to betraying those who voted for us.

The CSSD is ready to help overcome the deadlock that has developed. We think this will be a question of conducting further talks with the president of the Republic.

I personally feel that, if the government is to be stable, it should not be led by a member of the Civic Democratic Party. [end recording]

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B-H: Christopher Cited on Importance of Elections

LD0306114196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1055 GMT 3 Jun 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, June 3 (TANJUG)—The participants in Sunday's meeting in Geneva, which discussed the implementation of the Dayton agreement, agreed that the next most important task in Bosnia's peace process is to prepare elections and hold them according to plan, i.e. by September 14.

All participants in the meeting fully supported efforts to hold the elections and create conditions for them to be fair and free, said a statement released from the meeting and presented to a press conference after the talks by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

The statement said the participants of the Geneva meeting consider elections would enable the creation of democratic institutions both in the entities and at the level of the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It stressed the establishment of the institutions was very important for building a democratic society which will be supported by the entire population of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The statement said that Serbian and Croatian presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic and representatives of the entities—the Muslim-Croat federation Kresimir Zubak and of Republika Srpska Aleksa Buha—agreed that it was necessary to take a series of steps for the acceptance of standards and regulations established by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

This is related to forming a transitional electoral commission and creating conditions for the elections.

The rules and standards comprise the engagement to cooperate with the Hague tribunal, enable the freedom of movement, create conditions for the return of refugees, enable free and safe movement through Bosnia-Herzegovina for everyone. These are the foundations for elections and for lasting peace in Bosnia.

Arbitrage for the Brcko region (the corridor which links eastern and western parts of Republika Srpska) is listed among the rules and standards.

The importance of concluding talks on arms control and realisation of the postwar Bosnia reconstruction is also emphasised.

Christopher described the Geneva meeting as very useful and added there was a series of important meetings to be held in the course of this month which would also deal with the realisation of the Dayton peace agreement.

The White House considered that the success of the military aspects of the Dayton accords was better than expected, Christopher said.

The civilian aspects of the agreement are also registering increasing success, Christopher said. He added the freedom of movement in Bosnia was increasing because between 10,000 and 15,000 people cross the entity boundaries daily.

He informed reporters of the White House decision to open an office of the U.S. Agency for International Development in Banja Luka shortly.

Most questions posed by reporters related to Radovan Karadzic and Republika Srpska army commander Ratko Mladic whose names are not mentioned at all in the joint statement.

Christopher said it was very important for Karadzic and Mladic, as well as all indicted war criminals, not to be in power and not to run in the elections. He added that those accused of war crimes cannot escape justice.

B-H: Participants in Geneva Meeting Agree on Elections

LD0206153196 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 1500 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The United States, European allies, and Balkan leaders have agreed that elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina should go ahead in September as planned. The American Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, made the announcement during talks in Geneva with the presidents of Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and European representatives. Diplomats at the meeting said there was widespread support for pressing on with the vote, even if the conditions were not perfect. The diplomats said the future of the Bosnian Serbian leader Radovan Karadzic would be discussed later today. Western mediators see the continued presence of Karadzic and his military commander, General Ratko Mladic, as a major threat to the elections, which are a key aspect of the Dayton peace accord.

B-H: Izetbegovic Says Conditions Not Right for Elections

LD0106161496 Sarajevo BH PRESS in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 1 Jun (BH PRESS)—Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, received in Sarajevo today John Kornblum, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Canada and

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Europe, and John Menzies, the U.S. ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Also present at the meeting were: Ejup Ganic, Mirko Pejanovic, and Stjepan Kljuic—members of the Presidency; Miro Lazovic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina assembly speaker; Hasan Muratovic, the prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina; and Muhamed Sacirbegovic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina ambassador to the United Nations. They discussed problems related to the elections, the defense law, and the Vienna negotiations on the armaments in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"We reiterated that we were in favor of the elections, but under the normal, democratic conditions. We pointed out that these conditions, in our opinion, did not exist yet. We need to work on meeting these conditions, such as the freedom of movement, the freedom of political activities, the return of refugees, and the condition of all conditions—the removal from the political scene of the war criminals Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic in the Serb entity and the war criminals on the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory controlled by the Croatian Defense Council. We said that these criminals were blocking the Dayton Agreement, in particular those parts related to elections," President Izetbegovic said after the talks.

"The democratic elections could be solely a Bosnia-Herzegovina affair, they could influence the process of integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But undemocratic elections, supported by the international community, are not important only for Bosnia-Herzegovina, they are important for the world. It will be a very dangerous international precedent if the international community, led by the United States, put its signature to the elections held in an undemocratic manner and under undemocratic conditions. Democratic elections are a condition for the world's development toward civilization, and in this case that process will be stopped. This is why we said that the issue of democratic conditions for the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be seen from a more general point of view," President Izetbegovic said.

Speaking about the defense law, Izetbegovic said that he explained to Kornblum that there were some problems and that not all difficulties had been "ironed out."

"One stipulation, about the civilian command over the army, is deficient. We want it to be defined in line with what was signed in Dayton, and for this reason the law is still not ready to be presented to the assembly. As for the Vienna negotiations, we said we were prepared to cooperate further," President Izetbegovic said.

In a short statement to the journalists, Kornblum said that he was satisfied with the talks, that it was important to make steps forward, and that the results will be seen after the elections.

B-H: Izetbegovic Urges U.S. To 'Remove' Karadzic, Mladic

LD0106221396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2109 GMT 1 Jun 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, June 1 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic said on Saturday evening that fair and democratic elections could not be held in Bosnia-Herzegovina as long as Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic were in power in the Republika Srpska.

'If the Americans fail to do something to remove (Bosnian Serb President) Karadzic and (army commander) Mladic and to hand them over to The Hague tribunal, it will be a great shame for them,' Izetbegovic said after arriving in Geneva [words indistinct] signatories of the Dayton Agreement for Bosnia will hold a conference on Sunday.

Muslim Premier Hasan Muratovic expanded the [word indistinct] Muslim demands for holding elections, saying that there were war criminals [words indistinct] the Croat side as well, and that their removal from power and extradition to The Hague were also conditions for holding the elections, planned for mid-September.

He declined to make any reference whatsoever to crimes committed by Bosnian Muslims.

Muratovic also accused the Croats of obstructing the functioning of the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia.

B-H: Presidency Reviews Platform for Geneva Talks

AU3105180596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Izetbegovic today [31 May] chaired the 319th session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. The Presidency reviewed the stances our delegation will present at the forthcoming talks in Geneva, and expressed a positive stance on the elections, providing Dayton requirements are met: freedom of movement, return of refugees and expelled persons, freedom of political organization, freedom of the media throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the arrest and extradition of war criminals.

The Presidency at today's session endorsed laws passed by the Republican Assembly. The justice minister's proposal to grant clemency to a number of prisoners was reviewed and adopted. [passage omitted]

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B-H: Muratovic on Prospects for Elections, Reconstruction

LD3105225296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Hasan Muratovic, the prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, had talks today [31 May] with a European Parliament delegation headed by Jose Maria Mendiluce, a vice chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affairs.

Prime Minister Muratovic informed the European Parliament delegation about the current stage of the implementation of the peace agreement. He stressed that all the problems we faced resulted from lack of adequate mechanisms for implementing the provisions stipulating freedom of movement, elections, the return of refugees and displaced persons, and the extradition of war criminals to the international tribunal. Talking about the elections, the prime minister said that the conditions for holding elections would be created in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation by the set deadline, but that unless the war criminals were removed from power, the same would prove impossible in the other entity.

Analysing the EU's involvement in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Muratovic said that progress on the ground was slower than expected and that it was necessary to simplify the procedures for providing supplies.

The prime minister described admission into the Council of Europe, the EU, and NATO as the priorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina's foreign policy. He said he believed that the membership of these and other international bodies guaranteed long-term stability.

B-H: Serb Minister, U.S. Official Discuss Dayton Accord

LD3105140296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 31 May (SRNA)—Marko Arsovic, justice minister of the Serb Republic, discussed in Pale today the legal system of the Serb Republic and other aspects of the Dayton Agreement with (Karen Decker), political adviser to the U.S. ambassador to the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat federation.

During two-hours of talks, various issues were discussed and views of the Serb Republic on the implementation of the civil part of the Dayton Agreement were presented to the U.S. ambassador's envoys.

Minister Arsovic said that the Serb Republic "is absolutely prepared to cooperate in the implementation of the Dayton Agreement under the condition that other signatory parties fulfill their obligations, too".

"We have expressed our willingness to cooperate with the Hague Tribunal as well, but within the framework of our national legislature, which does not permit extradition of our citizens," Arsovic said after the meeting.

The ban on those accused of war crimes running in the elections, Arsovic pointed out, is contrary to all the international legal regulations.

Mrs. Decker said after the meeting that she "did not come to arrive at any agreement but to discuss the issue of refugees, war criminals, freedom of movement, and other aspects of the Dayton Agreement".

The talks were attended by Goran Neskovic, deputy justice minister of the Serb Republic, and (Janice Elmar), an adviser to the U.S. ambassador.

B-H: Socialists Favor Role for Karadzic in Election

AU3105143296 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 96 p 2

[Article by N.T.: "Karadzic Should Run in Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Speaking about the political survival of President Radovan Karadzic, Zivko Radisic, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic [SPRS], said at yesterday's news conference that his party's view was that Karadzic should run in the elections. At the same time he assessed that the transfer of some of his authority to Vice President Plavsic did not represent Karadzic's withdrawal from political life.

When a reporter noticed that just a minute earlier Radisic had said that the SPRS supported the Dayton agreement, he said that the view on Karadzic and the elections was not contradictory.

"We would like Karadzic leave because he has lost the elections, not because international factors want him to," Radisic tried to explain. However, since the reporter insisted, Radisic finally said that he was opposed to the Dayton agreement stipulation concerning Karadzic's nonparticipation in the elections. Asked about cooperation with the Hague Tribunal and the demands for the extradition of Karadzic and Mladic, Radisic said that "if there are any war criminals, then they should be judged primarily by their own people." Speaking about the unequal treatment, Radisic said that "we do not understand" why 80 percent of the people being investigated for war crimes are Serbs.

Announcing his party's congress to present its political program scheduled for tomorrow in Banja Luka, Radisic

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hinted at a possible coalition with the Yugoslav Left of the Serb Republic. He adamantly denied that dismissed Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic was to be his party's candidate at the elections, and expressed regret if Banja Luka Mayor Predrag Radic was replaced.

Assessing that the main battle at the elections would be waged between the Serbian Democratic Party and the SPRS, he said that the SPRS had about 50,000 members. He also said that the Socialist Party of Serbia, the Yugoslav Left, and the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro were invited to the congress, but he did not give any names.

B-H: RS Speaker Links Karadzic Removal to 'Turmoil

LD3105145396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 31 May (SRNA)—Obliteration of what was achieved in Dayton would mean our dissolution into Bosnia-Herzegovina when we do not want to live with the Muslims and Croats, stated Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, in an interview for tomorrow's issue of the Montenegrin daily JAVNOST.

"We are stubborn in the defense of our political sovereignty, whereas people in Serbia and Montenegro feel much more relaxed in their relations with the Muslims and Croats, because they do not understand the core of the problem," Krajisnik said, adding that he is "very pleased" with relations between the Serb Republic and Serbia and Montenegro.

Speaker Krajisnik assessed the renewed international pressure on Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Serb Republic, as efforts by Serb enemies "who know that the best way of throwing the state into turmoil would be by removing President Karadzic."

"Without any evidence, he is accused of being a war criminal. If we look at the issue from an objective point of view, Karadzic cannot be a war criminal if Tudjman and Izetbegovic are not accused of the same before him," Krajisnik said, adding:

"Karadzic is more popular with the Serb people now than two or three months ago. If people thought he had ordered the genocide, they would never forgive him."

Asked whether the Serb answer to pressures will be a referendum, where people could state their confidence in the leadership, Krajisnik recalled that the international community is against it. He explained:

"We are prepared to compromise, but only as long as this does not threaten the vital interests of the Serb people. That is why the referendum is an open issue, and it could easily happen if the line of the possible is crossed. [sentence as received]"

He said that a Serb Republic delegation held talks in Belgrade on 28 May with top officials of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia on the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, as part of preparations for the upcoming meeting of signatories in Geneva.

"Yugoslavia is a guarantor of the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and we believe that we need occasional consultations in order to establish a strategy," Krajisnik said.

According to him, it was stated at the meeting that "there is no reason why the Dayton Agreement should not be implemented, and what was agreed uponin Dayton must not be questioned."

He confirmed that Rajko Kasagic was replaced because he "has become the only hope for a policy, the aim of which was to annul everything the Serb people achieved in the homeland war."

B-H: Serb Official: IFOR Violating Dayton Accord

LD3105212696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1846 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 31 May (SRNA)—Dragan Kijac, minister of interior of the Serb Republic, today accused some IFOR [Implementation Force] members and units of violations of the Dayton agreement and warned that he would be forced to take legal measures if such behavior continued.

In a letter sent to IFOR commander Admiral Leighton Smith through the International Police Forces [IPTF], Minister Kijac said that restrictions of freedom of movement and other illegal measures toward citizens of the Serb Republic, contrary to the spirit of the Dayton agreement, were not on the decrease but, on the contrary, were increasing. The list of Dayton agreement violations committed by IFOR members is long; in most cases the roads and streets are blocked, citizens are being stopped, their identity papers are checked, and they are not in accordance with the legal code of professional behavior of police in democratic countries. [passage omitted]

If such incidents continue, I hope I will not be forced to take measures in line with the Bosnian Serb constitution and laws to which I am bound by law and by my conscience as a professional policeman, because then I would have to order the ministry's lower level units to reduce their cooperation with IFOR and the IPTF

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to the lowest necessary level and take other measures, Minister Kijac concluded in his letter to Admiral Smith.

B-H: IFOR Operation Meant To Eliminate Karadzic

AU3105163096 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 96 p 2

[Commentary by E. Subasic: "Operation 'Birdcage': The War Criminals' Last Days"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Americans have already begun deploying their forces on the territory of the "Serb entity" so that they now have under their control almost all the communications means, villages, and facilities that Mladic and Karadzic could use. The basic idea of this operation, named "Birdcage," is to create a "spider's web" with numerous patrols and checkpoints into which the war criminals will fall, sooner or later, and without too many victims on the Implementation Force's side.

The incredibly tight security at the recent assembly session held in the nuclear shelter in Han-Pijesak confirms that the IFOR soldiers are not the only ones the Pale leaders are afraid of. The Pale leadership ordered an entire special brigade of the Serbian Interior Ministry, and the Panthers, who first combed a wide area around Han-Pijesak, "to use arms to prevent anyone from threatening the work of the assembly and the deputies." Much of the anxiety in Pale was caused by the information that a certain Zdravko Budisavljevic, Radovan's possible executioner, was recently seen in Belgrade after having been away for several years....

The individual in question is a one-time Belgrade criminal, a professional killer, who after having fled the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia completed a contract with the Foreign Legion. Several years ago he "blurted out" to a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent that the CIA occasionally engaged him as a top sniper. The agency denied this.

What do events such as Kasagic's removal, the appointment of Klickovic as new prime minister of the "Serb entity," and Plavsic's appointment as acting head of state essentially change? The changes have not come as a surprise to those better acquainted with Serb political tactics. Kasagic, who at first glance was a cooperative partner of the international community, was removed by Karadzic as soon as he started to work against the interests of the "Serb entity" in Bosnia. As a result, Karadzic's move has shaken the foundations of the Dayton accord. Karadzic is only postponing his political and perhaps physical death.

Nonetheless, all this implies that Milosevic is the one pulling all the strings. He does not want the plan to be implemented, because after withdrawing from Croatia, the loss of the occupied part of Bosnia would equal a national catastrophe. At the same time, pressured by economic, political, and legal threats from the West, Milosevic is running out of maneuvering space. For a time, Kasagic was "on the way to Europe," in order to give Milosevic time to bring the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia closer to the World Bank and the IMF, so that after the lifting of sanctions he could get loans and establish his image as a peacemaker, but only until Kasagic's "cooperative stance" started to threaten Serb interests. What next?

It is now Carl Bildt's turn. His part of the job in operation "Birdcage" is to completely isolate Pale and transfer all political contacts to Banja Luka, and thus turn the eastern part of the "Serb entity" into a "political dead end."

Only three days after Kasagic's removal, Milorad Dodik made an energetic comeback into political life. This prewar "reformist" and currently "independent Social Democrat" was recently portrayed by the U.S. media as "America's man in Bosnia?!" However, let there be no mistake; Dodik is not a supporter of an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina, but simply a businessmen who understands that with Karadzic in power, both he and the Serb people are heading straight into a catastrophe. There will be more surprises, because Nenad Kecmanovic is still being held in reserve, and there still seems to be room for Nikola Koljevic, since it had once already been agreed that he would replace Karadzic. There are, moreover, a number of opposition leaders who have not been directly compromised by crimes, and are anxiously awaiting the elections....

B-H: NATO Reluctance To Arrest Karadzic Criticized

AU0306101396 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 23 May 96 p 3

[Commentary by Fadil Mandal: "Compromise With the Devil"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Over the last few days, the international community has employed all its media and diplomatic potential in an attempt to neutralize the dangerous impact of the hardline faction in the Pale leadership on the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Carl Bildt can be found first in Belgrade, then in Pale; the IFOR [Implementation Force] has been cautiously involved in the discussion about Radovan Karadzic's political fate; and John Kornblum, the chief U.S. negotiator for the former Yugoslavia, is coming to the Balkans for another urgent tour.

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Can this seemingly impressive diplomatic activity, combined with threats that new sanctions will be imposed on Serbia and Montenegro, succeed? What is its ultimate purpose and its real limits?

According to NATO officials, there is little chance of success in the action to remove Radovan Karadzic from power in the Serbian entity, because they obviously are not prepared to take any risk. "Karadzic is not worth a single young life," NATO commanders state resolutely.

The Bosnian authorities cannot agree with that superficial game. The (non) acceptance of the Contact Group plan was experience enough. The world was also pressuring Milosevic then, while Karadzic was threatened with political and other kinds of isolation. Eventually, the entire plan reached the brink of collapse, and its fall was prevented only by the military defeat of the Serb forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Now that we have the huge military forces of the Western alliance here in Bosnia-Herzegovina instead of the melancholy UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force], the logic for not taking any determined action has remained the same. The big powers are anxious about the lives of their soldiers—more of whom have died in traffic accidents during the last six months than they possibly could in arresting war criminals Karadzic and Mladic. It is more likely that there is not enough political courage and will for such an action.

It is not difficult to see that Bosnia-Herzegovina is not an important thing in this game of "hide-and-seek" that the West and the Serbs have been playing. It would be naive to believe that the West is "hunting" Karadzic at this particular moment just because his further political existence would endanger the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina. From the point of view of London, Washington, or Paris, it endangers the peace agreement that has been initiated by those governments.

If we follow that logic, it is clear that the aspirations of the Bosnian Government and of the international community are not the same in the "Karadzic case." The world will consider having elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina to be a success, regardless of whether Karadzic and Mladic are in The Hague at that moment or hiding safely in the Romanija plateau. For Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, those two possibilities are not mutually exclusive.

Finally, the point is not how much power the criminal from Durmitor will have in a week or in a month. It is a disgrace for the international community to make compromises and bargains with him about that power.

B-H: OSCE Chairs Banja Luka Meeting of 'All' Parties

AU3105191196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 May 96

[Report by Jesenko Krehic on a meeting between OSCE mission deputy head Kenneth Scott and "all political parties" in Banja Luka on 31 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] It was possible to conclude at the very start of the meeting what the greatest problem for the parties in the Serb entity is. They are all dissatisfied with the fact that the election rules do not enable Serb refugees from Croatia to participate in the September elections, and they demanded that such a clause be introduced. However, this would constitute a violation of the Dayton accord, and the OSCE will not allow it.

Sir Kenneth Scott, deputy head of the OSCE mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, made use of the occasion to inform party representatives that the registration deadline for parties and independent candidates had been extended to 14 June. Many party representatives, particularly from the neighboring entity, demanded that the elections be held as soon as possible. Here is the answer they received:

[Begin Scott recording, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] We are not yet ready to announce a date for the elections, because that can only be announced when the OSCE chairman has certified that conditions exist for the elections to be held. [end recording]

As it is clear that the conditions for elections do not yet exist—war criminals have not been arrested, and more—it is obvious that the parties in the Serb entity are trying to buy time in a time of total chaos on the political scene.

It was established at today's meeting that possible manipulation of the signatures necessary for registering parties had been preempted, and that voters who do not possess an identity card can prove their identity by showing their passport, driving license, or refugee papers.

B-H: Iran's Red Crescent Opens Clinic in Bihaj

LD0206171096 Tehran IRNA in English 1638 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, June 2, IRNA—Inauguration of a medical center by Iranian Red Crescent in Bihaj, western Bosnia, has been received with great enthusiasm by the city residents, announced an Iranian Red Crescent official here on Sunday.

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According to an aide of the chief of the Iranian Red Crescent Shushtari-Rad, the establishment of the center has been considered as a vital facility for the deprived people of the city who have suffered a three-year siege laid by the Serb forces.

Noting that the center was built following the visit to the city by representative of the leader of Islamic revolution, he said the residents of Bihaj has called for setting up such a center.

He noted that such humanitarian activities of Iran have always been welcomed by the Bosnian people because they are fully aware that Iran was the sole country which helped them without any expectations during the most difficult conditions of the war period in their country.

Shushtari Rad mentioned that Iran's decision to name the center after the martyred foreign minister of Bosnia who was born and buried in Bihaj was greatly welcomed by the residents of the city.

The center, built on a 400-square meter lot of land is equipped with different medical sections and its services are free of charge.

He also said the Bihaj center is the second case in Bosnia after medical center of Iranian Red Crescent in Sarajevo which was set up during the worst time of war while the city was under Serbian siege.

B-H: Zubak Condemns 'Violations' of Constitution

AU3105155196 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 96 p 2

[Letter by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to Miro Lazovic, chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; place and date not given: "Which Constitution Is in Force?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I received an invitation and materials from expert groups in the Assembly, of which you are the chairman, right before yesterday's [30 May] 29th session, which I examined to the extent permitted by time.

"In fact, I had time to take a casual look into the content and legal grounds for passing several acts that had been placed on the agenda.

"Even such a casual glance was sufficient to make me understand that with their adoption, certain provisions of the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] and of the Dayton-styled constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, being the only constitutions that are legally in force, would be severely violated.

"I expected the parliamentary debate to eliminate the possibility of such violations. However, despite the attempts by certain deputies to make other deputies aware of the violations of the constitutions and rules of parliamentary procedure, those act have been passed.

"This shows and proves once more that a majority vote in the structures of power in our multiethnic community is a mere democratic pretext and an instrument of majority rule [majorizacija] and domination over a smaller nation by a larger nation, which, unfortunately, even the principle of constitutionality and legality cannot prevent.

"Therefore, as the legitimacy of the acts adopted cannot be assessed through a procedure in the Constitutional Court of the B-H Federation or in the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, due to their incompetence in making decisions on violations of the Dayton-styled constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is the case when speaking in terms of the still existing republican Constitutional Court and violations of the Constitution of the B-H Federation, I hereby inform you that for these reasons the adopted acts will not be enforced on certain parts of the territory of the B-H Federation, nor will they be observed by certain structures of the B-H Federation's authorities.

"In announcing this I believe I should not in particular point out that the adoption of laws in such a manner makes the establishment of the Federation even more difficult, because it extends and encourages the pluralism of legal structures and authorities that should be eliminated with the consistent implementation of the Dayton, Washington, and other accords.

"All the attempts by the existing transitional republican authorities, and even by the Assembly you are chairing, to dominate over the federal authorities, or to usurp some of their rights and duties, will not be allowed, for they are negative in many ways.

"In addition to my drawing your attention to the consequences of the practice, of which you may or may not be aware, but you are still one of its protagonists, I want to let you know the following, for the sake of the future Assembly sessions:

"1. The Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is no longer in legal force, because the Dayton constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina is overtaking it. Therefore, not a single act can be passed on a legal basis. However, if any act happens to be passed, it cannot have any legal force for the above given reason.

"2. The existing institutions of the republican authorities, including the Assembly of which you are the chairman, cannot pass regulations or acts that are legally

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founded on the Dayton-styled constitution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. That can be done only by bodies of authority that are constituted in compliance with that constitution, and through a procedure prescribed by it," it is said in the "open" letter sent by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to the chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

B-H: Assembly Speaker Lazovic Replies to Zubak's Allegations

LD3105193496 Sarajevo Radio Hajat in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Miro Lazovic, speaker of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today [31 May] answered Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and his open letter, in which he accused the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina of obstructing the peace agreement [Dayton agreement]:

"Although it is not my habit to share my thoughts and intentions outside the institutions of the system and by way of public correspondence, this time I shall follow your example and do it all the same. Unfortunately, you continue with the practice, as inaugurated by yourself, of open letters to state officials.

"This time you addressed me not as speaker of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina but, as you say, chairman of the assembly.

"I am, nevertheless, addressing you as president of the Federation, although it is difficult to find constitutional grounds for your post. I am pointing this out because of your sincere worries and warnings against the violations of the Constitution, which the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina has allegedly committed.

"You say that merely by glancing at the agenda of the just ended session of the Bosnian Assembly you could see a grave violation of the federal Constitution and the Dayton constitution.

"I want to believe that you are only being superficial. Had you studied the assembly's material seriously, you would have probably found no grounds for criticizing such a serious institution as the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Having accused the Assembly of obstructing the peace agreement, you made an even greater error in saying that the laws passed by the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina would not be adhered to in certain areas. Thus, you are directly obstructing the implementation of the peace agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I hope this is neither your intention nor your political stand.

"Since such a belief on your part stems, in your opinion, from lack of competence of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina in passing any law, I believe that after you have considered seriously the competence of the Assembly to pass laws for which it is authorized and after you accept this with the necessary political will, you will do your best to implement them in certain areas.

"As the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue with its sessions and with passing laws, I am obliged to point out, for the sake of further possible misunderstandings and lack of information on your part, that its powers derive from the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Dayton constitution." [passage omitted]

B-H: Federation Government Reviews Draft Defense Law

AU3105181196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Government of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina today [31 May] held a session at which it reviewed the Federation's draft defense law. The government tasked the federal defense minister and his deputy to continue activities on coordinating a single text of the law, and to submit it in time for the next government session.

The government at today's session reviewed the draft law on amendments to the Law on Federal Ministries and other bodies of the federal administration, which establishes the status of the federal administration and organizations. According to this proposal, the following independent federal administrations will be formed: Federal Administration for Veterans and Disabled of the Homeland War, Federal Administration for [word indistinct], Property, and Legal Issues, Federal Institute for Programming Development, and the Federal Directorate for Commodity Reserves.

The prime minister will submit the draft law to the Constituent Assembly and it will be urgently reviewed at the 3 June session. The government also passed a decision to donate funds from the government budget to pay net April salaries to Tuzla and central Bosnia miners. The funds should alleviate the present situation until the mines are [words indistinct] for normal and independent functioning.

B-H: Ganic Discusses Defense Law With U.S. Official

LD0106153396 Sarajevo BH PRESS in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 1 June (BH PRESS)—Dr. Ejup Ganic, a member of the presidency of the

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Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, had talks with the special envoy of the U.S. secretary of state and coordinator for the implementation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation [not further identified].

They discussed details of the platform for the forthcoming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina and unresolved issues in connection with the defense law of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

B-H: Soljic Says Muslims Obstructing Defense Law Talks

LD3105233096 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The law on the defense of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation will not be on the agenda of the next session of the [federation's] constituent assembly because the Bosniak Muslim side is refusing to accept the agreement reached in Washington, Vladimir Soljic, the federal defense minister, has said in Sarajevo. This is a serious warning, and I think that this could be an important turning point. If we in the federation are unable to accept the basic laws, then any talk of the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina is pointless, Minister Soljic said. He added that only after a complete integration of the federation could there be discussion about the integration of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic.

B-H: Bender on Forthcoming Constituent Assembly Meeting

LD3105210596 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mariofil Ljubic, the speaker of the Constituent Assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, has convened the Assembly's 14th session for 1600 on 3 June in Sarajevo. This has been announced by the Croat floor group in the Assembly. A meeting of the group of Croat deputies will be held in the Assembly building at 1300 the same day.

Our guest today is Ivan Bender, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and president of the Croat floor group in the Constituent Assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Our correspondent Ivan Kristic spoke to Ivan Bender about the forthcoming session of the Federal Parliament. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Kristic] Kresimir Zubak, the president of the Federation, warned Miro Lazovic, the speaker of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, that the Dayton Constitution rendered invalid the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that Muslim deputies were acting against the law when they passed decisions on the basis of a Constitution which was no longer valid. Will you raise the issue of this dual aspect of the authorities at the session of the Federation's Constituent Assembly?

[Bender] The representatives of the Croat nation said what they had to say at the session of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have also sent certain letters in which we outlined our stances.

As for the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croat people should not worry about this too much because we have our own Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. Whatever needs to be done, whatever they do at the level of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina—we will do the same at the level of the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

The Constituent Assembly session will not take the same course as the Republic's Assembly session, because in the Constituent Assembly the Croats have certain mechanisms which enable them to protect their interests, and we are in the final phase of reaching an agreement on how we should act. I expect a sufficient number of Croat deputies to turn up at the constituent assembly session. We will agree on everything and confirm our stances on Monday [3 June], at the session of the Croat parliamentary group. I believe that the Croat deputies will do their job to the satisfaction of all of us living in this region.

[Kristic] You have recently returned from Zagreb where you attended all the celebrations organized to mark Croatian Armed Forces' Day and Statehood Day. Did all these celebrations strengthen Croatian unity and confirm the Croatian people's goals?

[Bender] It is good for all of us to remember that the strength of the Croatian people lies in their Armed Forces—the Croatian Army and the Croat Defense Council [HVO].

We will build the Federation's Army and try to transfer to it all the positive elements of the HVO. Talks on the law on defense of the federation are under way and they should ensure that the Army consists of two components. We must remember that such things as Bleiburg in 1945, disarmament and surrender must never happen again. We must ensure that all the necessary elements are included in the law on defense. [end recording]

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B-H: Bosnian Croats Say Muslim Acts Threaten Cooperation

LD3105225096 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Six members of the 3rd Guards Motor Eagles Brigade of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], arrested by Muslim military police between Fojnica and Kiseljak on 25 May, were released last night but they had to pay 100 German marks [DM] each and seven kilograms of their body weight [as heard]. Zvonimir Cilic reports:

[Begin Cilic recording] On the occasion of the release of six members of the 3rd Guards Brigade of the HVO, arrested by the military police of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, a news conference was held today [31 May] in the headquarters of the Vitez army zone. Together with the released guardsmen, present at the news conference were Colonel Josip Tolo, commander of the 2nd operational unit of the Vitez Army zone, Major General Drago Dragicevic, commander of the Vitez Army zone, and Maj. Gen. Filip Filipovic, commander of the joint headquarters of the Federal Army of the Federation.

The released guardsmen said that during their six days of captivity they were not physically maltreated but that they were verbally abused and maltreated, threatened, and charged for food and services which were promised to them by the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Just for the news—glad tidings—as they called it, that they were to be released, they had to pay DM100 each. They were arrested in the early hours of 25 May in the Fojnica municipality, where they were kept in prison, in very bad conditions, for three days. They were then transferred to an empty apartment in the Sarajevo suburb of Grbavica. They were released from there late last night. They had lost between three and seven kilograms.

Maj. Gen. Dragicevic characterized the arrest and imprisonment of six members of the 3rd Guards Brigade as organized terrorism and highway robbery, adding that since the signing of the Dayton Agreement, in the Vitez Army area alone over 470 serious incidents had been registered, all caused by the Muslim side. Such incidents were threatening, he said, to destroy the painfully built confidence between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and also the confidence between the Croat and Muslim peoples.

Maj. Gen. Dragicevic said that he had received no apology from any of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army representatives for this unreasonable and bandit-like act of hostage-taking, although the claims of the Croat side that they were not implicated in the disappearance of the two members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army had been proven to be correct. The two members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were captured by the Serb side, allegedly because of contraband activities. This was discovered and confirmed by IFOR [Implementation Force]. Once again it is evident that there are attempts to blame the Croat side for everything that happens in the territory of the Federation, Maj. Gen. Filipovic said and added:

"We hope that such incidents, which could be characterized as terrorism and highway robbery, will stop. We are expecting more effective help from IFOR. If not, our hands are not tied, Maj. Gen. Filipovic said." [end recording]

B-H: Opposition Demands Contact With Mostar Voters

AU3105184596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] (?The Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats), the Social Democratic Party, the Muslim Bosniak Organization, the Croatian Peasants' Party, and the Republican Party have demanded contact with voters, particularly Mostar refugees and expelled persons residing in Germany, Sweden, Norway, Austria, and Serbia.

The representatives of the coordination bodies of these parties today [31 May] acquainted Mostar EU Administrator Ricardo Peres Casado with this demand at a meeting held in Sarajevo. They also informed him about their programs and [word indistinct] party group submitted to all factors responsible for organizing elections. They particularly stressed the issue of party activists' personal safety, the safety of candidates and their families, the creation of elementary conditions for the parties' activities in Mostar, free and equal access to the media, and freedom of movement.

B-H: Serb Civic Council Demands Vote for Mostar Serbs

LD0106164696 Sarajevo BH PRESS in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 1 Jun (BH-PRESS)—The Serb Civic Council [SGV] of Bosnia-Herzegovina has sent a letter about the elections in Mostar to leading European officials. The letter was sent to Italian Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini, German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] Chairman Flavio Cotti, John Menzies, U.S. ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Robert Frowick, the head of the OSCE mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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"The SGV of Bosnia-Herzegovina has asked the European administration to provide two polling stations for Serb residents of Mostar in Belgrade and Nevesinje.

"We assure you that the SGV request means respect for the basic human right to vote and to be elected.

"If the EU fails to comply with the SGV request, it will bear the responsibility for one ethnic group of the town of Mostar—in this case the Serbs—being denied equality to exercise their human and democratic rights to decide about their future and the future of Mostar," the SGV's letter says.

B-H: 'Serb Mob' Attacks Bosniak Refugees Near Doboj

AU0206190096 Paris AFP in English 1815 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, June 2 (AFP)—A stone-throwing Bosnian Serb mob attacked returning Moslem refugees Sunday, leaving dozens injured from rocks and flying glass, journalists at the scene reported.

The Moslems were hurt when their buses were ambushed by Serbs in the village of Potocani, close to the northern town of Doboj, despite an agreement between local Serb and Moslem officials allowing visits to family graves in three nearby villages.

The visit by around 100 Moslems, supervised by the UN refugees organisation and UN police, was the refugees' fourth attempt to return to their homes in Serb-controlled territory since they fled in 1992.

The assault prompted nearby peace Implementation Force (IFOR) troops to evacuate them across a military pontoon bridge back into territory controlled by the Moslem-Croat federation.

A number of participants reported hearing gunshots coming from Serb houses, but the reports could not be independently confirmed. An AFP photographer reported seeing Serb police draw their guns at one stage.

"Where were IFOR when they were throwing stones? Look at me," said one of the angry bus drivers, showing his bleeding hands.

Uzeir Fetic, one of the organisers of the return, said: "IFOR checked us, we were unarmed. And what happened?"

"They had meetings, our representatives and Serb representatives. Where are they now, those who did the negotiations? Here are the results," he said, pointing to the smashed windows.

"Next time we'll go with guns," shouted one protestor.

Separately, Serbs prevented an estimated 200 Croats from returning to their homes in Komusin, destroying a nearby bridge overnight, sources said.

Scores of Serbs were waiting to block any attempt to pass into Serb territory, a television crew at the scene said.

The incident occured near Teslic, in northern Bosnia, from where officials in the Moslem-Croat federation estimate 500 non-Serbs have been expelled from their homes by Serbs in the past two weeks.

The attacks by hardline Serbs further undermined freedom of movement judged essential to the holding of "free and fair" elections in Bosnia by mid-September.

B-H: Serb Official Says Institutions Must Be Respected

LD0206195396 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Momcilo Krajisnik, the speaker of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, Velibor Ostojic, the vice president of the Serb Republic, and Dragan Bulajic, chairman of the commission for exchanging POW's, held talks in Pale today with Michael Steiner, the deputy to Carl Bildt. They discussed the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. Velibor Ostojic and Michael Steiner had this to say after the meeting:

[Begin Ostojic recording] Ambassador Steiner wanted to discuss several issues. He mentioned something controversial indeed which, he said, was taking place in Teslic.

After what had happened in Teslic was explained—we have not been fully informed and things seem quite illogical—it remains for this event to be investigated so that we can see what it is all about.

Second, the issue of Prijedor—this is a matter which we have not encountered before. It can be interpreted in two ways, depending on which approach is taken. We interpreted this [not further specified] as something bordering on provocation.

Third, the issue of passage for buses, even under the UNHCR's auspices—we have to see in principle whether there is a desire to cooperate and to respect the Serb Republic's institutions. It is in this context that such activities have to be prepared, not by ignoring the institutions of the Serb Republic and acting unilaterally. The solutions and such activities cannot be forced on us.

Mr. Krajisnik told Mr. Steiner clearly that the Serb Republic wanted to cooperate but it had to be cooperation

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in which we were an equal partner. He also said that all the institutions of the Serb Republic had to be respected and that only bearing this in mind could we prepare and carry out such projects. Our situation has to be taken into account. [passage omitted] [end recording]

B-H: Police Chief To Be Sacked for 'Ethnic Cleansing'

AU0106155296 Paris AFP in English 1154 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, June 1 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serb police chief in Teslic, where a fresh wave of "ethnic cleansing" is forcing Moslems from their homes, is to be sacked, a senior aide to the top civilian peace coordinator, Carl Bildt, said Saturday.

Michael Maclay said Bosnian Serb Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic had told the office of Bosnia's High Representative that police chief Marinko Djukic would be dismissed for failing to prevent a rash of new expulsions of Moslems by Serbs.

Local Moslem officials from the northern Bosnian town told AFP Friday that some 750 Moslems had been expelled from Teslic since the signing of the Dayton peace accords for Bosnia last December.

The town's mayor in exile, Adil Osmanovic, said some 500 Moslems had been hounded out of their homes—some attacked with hand-grenades and shotguns—in the past 15 days.

"We have made a very firm representation yesterday (Friday) in answer to which we got the undertaking that the chief of police will be stepping down," Maclay told reporters.

He said there would be "a full investigation," adding "we want to see that announced and happening very fast."

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Croatia: Tudjman Receives U.S. Assistant Secretary Kornblum

LD0106104496 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of the republic has received John Kornblum, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs. Kornblum reported on his talks yesterday with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and preparations for tomorrow's meeting in Geneva.

The most important thing is to begin preparations for the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to remove Karadzic from power in the Serb entity, Kornblum said.

The president said that the Croatian standpoint is that the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be carried out in keeping with the timetable agreed at Dayton. It is also important that the elections are carried out for the sake of the Federation because it is necessary to form a federal government and cantonal authorities, the president said.

Croatia believes that the departure not only of Karadzic but also of Mladic from all posts in the Serb entity is essential. The president said that it is necessary to have talks in Geneva on the process of the peaceful reintegration of Podunavlje.

We are satisfied with how things have been implemented so far, but attempts are now being made to create difficulties for General Klein. Our view is that the process of the peaceful reintegration of Podunavlje should not be halted, the president said.

Apart from the president, also attending the talks were: Dr. Ivo Sanader, head of the president's office; Defense Minister Gojko Susak; Dr Zeljko Matic, a foreign policy adviser; and Assistant Foreign Minister Hidajet Biscevic.

Croatia: Tudjman, U.S. Assistant Secretary Kornblum Talk

LD0106163196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 1 Jun 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, June 1 (TANJUG)—U.S. Assistant Secretary of State John Kornblum met in Zagreb on Saturday with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman after his Friday's visit to Belgrade.

The talks focused on the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and preparations for elections in Bosnia, it was announced in Zagreb.

Kornblum and Tudjman also discussed preparations for Sunday's meeting in Geneva, which will be attended by the signatories of the Dayton Agreement and representatives of the member-states of the Contact Group for Bosnia.

After talks with Tudjman, Kornblum said he and Tudjman had agreed that the implementation of the Dayton Agreement was crucial for peace in Bosnia and that, in that context, it would be essential to organize elections in the near future.

Croatia's stand is that elections in Bosnia should be organized in accordance with the provisions of the Dayton Agreement, including its deadlines.

The Croatian president said he was satisfied with the hitherto progress of the peace process in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, but adding that Serb officials in the region 'make problems to provisional administrator, U.S. General Jacques Klein.'

Croatia expects some conclusions to be reached in Geneva on Sunday to 'allow unimpeded progress toward a peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem,' Tudjman said.

Croatia: Susak, Slovene Defense Minister Discuss Cooperation

LD3105215996 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak and his Slovene counterpart, Jelko Kacin, have exchanged views on the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, the security situation in the wider region, and cooperation between Croatia and Slovenia in the defense sphere in the small Slovene town of Podcetrtek.

[Correspondent Ivana Petrovic] Today's talks are another contribution to better cooperation between the Defense Ministries of the two neighboring countries—this is the essential conclusion of the meeting between Defense Ministers Susak and Kacin, held behind closed doors.

After the talks they made brief statements:

[Begin recording] [Kacin in Slovene, with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] We have assessed current international relations and exchanged views on events in our neighborhood. This is a contribution to our mutual understanding.

At the same time, we established that there is a possibility for our two countries to cooperate in other spheres, apart from defense.

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In order to achieve this, we will need to make additional efforts but they will, hopefully, bring results to our mutual satisfaction.

[Susak] We analyzed the possibilities for cooperation at all levels, conscious of the fact that in order for this cooperation to take place we will need more contacts at the governmental level.

We hope that this process will commence soon. [end recording]

[Petrovic] Asked whether there was any discussion about a joint project with Slovenia for joining the Partnership for Peace program, Minister Susak replied:

[Begin Susak recording] I discussed this with Minister Kacin. One of the conditions for joining the Partnership for Peace program is good neighborly relations.

Our talks today prove that such relations between Slovenia and Croatia exist. [end recording]

[Petrovic] As for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, Minister Susak said, the Croatian view is that the agreement has to be successfully implemented.

Croatia: President Tudjman Pardons Serb Rebels

AU0306102996 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 96 p 2

[Report by HINA: "Tudjman Pardoned Convicts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Based upon Article 98, Subsection 5, of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, Article 1 of the Amnesty Law, and the proposal of the Amnesty Commission, dated 23 May 96, President of the Republic of Croatia Dr. Franjo Tudjman made the decision of a pardon based upon the appeals made by the convicts and by virtue of his office, it was reported from the president's Office.

By this decision 204 persons have been pardoned, of which one convicted person has been completely relieved of his sentence in prison, prison sentences of 47 convicts have been turned into probation sentences, sentences have been reduced for 26 convicted persons, in two cases sentences have been annulled, a security measure has been cancelled for one person, for 15 persons the unserved part of the prison sentence has been changed into a probation sentence, six persons have been relieved of serving the unserved part of the prison sentence passed onto them, prison sentences have been reduced for 105 persons, by pardon, by virtue of his office.

Based upon Article 98, Subsection 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, and Article 1 of the Amnesty Law, at the proposal of the Minister of Justice, Dr. Franjo Tudjman made the decision on pardoning from legal prosecution and implementation of the verdicts passed for the crime of armed rebellion from Article 235, Section 1 of the KZRH [Criminal Law of the Republic of Croatia]. This decision encompasses 78 persons, of which 57 persons have been relieved of legal prosecution, and 21 persons have been relieved of serving the unserved part of their prison sentence.

These decisions are valid from the day of their making, says the information received from the presidential office.

Croatia: Official Comments on Amnesty Bill, Media Situation

AU0306114296 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 96 p 7

[Interview with Deputy Croatian Prime Minister Ljerka Mintas Hodak by Mate Piskor; place and date not given: "They Are Looking for Our Mistakes With a Magnifying Glass"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Box, p 7]

Amnesty an Act of Mercy

[Piskor] How would you comment on the reactions to the amnesty law for the territory of the Croatian Danube Basin, which has not been well received by either the Croats, the Serbs, or the representatives of the international community?

[Mintas Hodak] It is quite understandable that many failed to greet the law enthusiastically because not a single expellee from East Slavonia has managed to return to his home yet. As I said a little earlier, criminal procedures have been started in Croatia against the Croats, who committed certain criminal acts after Operation Storm while we are amnestying those who have caused the war, the suffering, the expulsions.... However, the Croatian policy state interest dictated the passing of this law, and that is why it was passed.

[Piskor] The Serbs on the currently still occupied territories are rebelling against it, especially the leaders of the uprising, for instance, Hadzic and company?

[Mintas Hodak] As for Goran Hadzic, we must still wait and see into which category he will be classified, but I believe that none of them should be dissatisfied with the passing of this law because this is an act of mercy by the Croatian state toward those who have instigated the rebellion against the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia, except for those who committed war crimes.

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[Piskor] Individual members of the parliament and some others have also spoken against this law—for example, Messrs. Djukic and Pejnovic—and it could also be heard that the bill was dividing the Serbs, that Croatia was a country with fascist laws, and similar. How would you comment on this?

[Mintas Hodak] I believe that Mr. Pejnovic, as a member of the Croatian Parliament, should issue more responsible statements or at least produce serious arguments to substantiate such grave accusations and, I shall be perfectly frank, slander of the parliament. Another important thing—such statements definitely do not help the normalization of relations between the Croats and the Serbs in Croatia, the reintegration of the Serbian ethnic community into Croatia, and the creation of a positive atmosphere of civic tolerance in general.

[Box, p 7]

Uninformed on Information

[Piskor] Are European claims about the threat to freedom of the media in Croatia justified?

[Mintas Hodak] I recently discussed this topic with a European envoy and what I heard made me convinced that they often arrive in Croatia poorly informed or with the preconceived idea that there is no media freedom in Croatia. The picture about the general situation is often created by some particular case, on the basis of the testimonies by individuals in the public eye, or on the basis of partial information. In the course of the talks, to their amazement, we informed them that the most influential weeklies are completely privatized and independent, that we do have private and independent radio and television houses, that individual dailies are privatized and independent. We invited them to stay in Croatia, read the Croatian papers, watch the television and listen to the radio, and I believe that then they will realize that just as everywhere else, there are problems, but there is no talk of state censorship or lack of freedom in the media.

Croatia: Radio Reports Muslim-Croat Unrest in Mostar

LD0106121696 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivan Bender, acting president of the presidential council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and the president of the assembly of Rama-Neretva county, has received General Wolfgang Odendal, head of the regional office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE], in Mostar. Here is a report by Anton Mrkonjic:

Odendal, head of the regional OSCE office, conveyed his concerns to Bender over the difficulties in setting up municipal electoral commissions. In this connection he noted the difficulties being faced in setting up one in Jablanica. It was agreed that at the beginning of next week a meeting would be held between Muslim and Croat representatives in order to find a solution to this problem, which is also in evidence in other municipalities of Rama-Neretva county.

President Bender informed Gen. Odendal that the Croat side is very keen to see the elections go forward and will do everything to ensure they are held within the envisaged deadline.

On the advice of Mostar's political department, people should use Mostar's Bulevar [main street] only at their own risk. Zeljko Jukic, head of this political department, said groups of people from the Muslim part of [east] Mostar, yesterday and overnight, in the suburb of Mahala, on two occasions attacked and stoned several cars with Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia number plates. Several people were detained and beaten up, while most had their personal possessions taken from them.

This is not the first time that cars from western Mostar have been stoned in the Mahala area, Jukic said, and he expressed dissatisfaction with EU police action in these cases: Despite being immediately informed of these incidents, the EU police are failing to take the appropriate measures envisaged in the regulations governing their work.

It is true that mixed police patrols went to the scene of the stoning, but they were unable to stop the beatings and theft. In these circumstances the police from western Mostar do not have the authority to intervene, Jukic, head of the Mostar political department, said.

Otherwise, IFOR [Implementation Force] patrols of armored vehicles have been stepped up along Bulevar, and civilian vehicles are also there, and despite everything the situation in Mostar is normal.

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Poland: Poland-Ukraine-Belarus Cooperation Debated in Warsaw

WS3105124796 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 May 96 p 5

[Article by "KRZEM": "Belarus-Poland-Ukraine; a Micromodel of Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"This is the first time our states are talking to each other without any intermediaries or Russia," stressed Belarusian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Antanovich during a conference between Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine.*

For the entire weekend, officials, politicians, and experts from the three countries spoke about NATO enlargement, the role of Russia in the region, and cooperation between Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine in the field of security.

Backstage at the conference organized by the nongovernmental Euro-Atlantic Association (headed by Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Tadeusz Mazowiecki), it was noted that the dominant topic was Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Belarusian cooperation, yet there was no Belarusian-Ukrainian dialogue. Similarly to the recent "Ukraine's Renaissance" conference, neither the Democratic Left Alliance-Polish Peasant Party alliance nor President Kwasniewski was represented. Jaroslaw Guzy, chairman of the Atlantic Club, remarked that this marks a deliberate reorientation of Polish Eastern policy from Kiev and Minsk to Moscow.

There were no surprises as far as NATO and the role played by Russia in our region are concerned. Poland does not see any argument against the enlargement of NATO and wants partner relations with Russia. It was said that Russia, however, does not see the difference between spheres of interest and spheres of influence. Albeit Ukraine remains beyond military structures, it is not against NATO enlargement. It only does not want nuclear arms deployed on the territory of neighboring states. Ambassador Volodymyr Vasylenko, from the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry, and Andriy Fyalko, President Kuchma's aide, did not exclude the possibility that Ukraine might change its status and consider becoming a part of NATO in the future.

Belarus, on the other hand, is integrating with Russia, entering CIS military structures, and opposing NATO expansion. Deputy Prime Minister Antanovich argued that "the road toward integration with Russia" is endorsed by the majority of Belarusian citizens. "We have to follow that road in order to learn whether it is the right choice. There is no other way our society can be persuaded," he said. He even added that Belarusian authorities do want to go down the NATO road but must first check the Russian path.

Belarusian opposition representatives were present as well: Stanislaw Bahdankiewich (Civic Party) and Zyanon Paznyak (Belarusian Popular Front). Their opinions were much different from those of the officials—they spoke for integration with West European structures.

The discussion on whether our states can cooperate in the field of security was very interesting in this context. Andrey Fyalko emphasized that this will be the acid test for a future Europe. "If it works, one Pan-European system will emerge. If not, a new division of Europe will be inevitable."

Polish participants agreed: "Our countries will soon become part of various security structures, and it will become clear whether the lines separating these structures will be lines of division or cooperation," said Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

Ambassador Volodymyr Vasylenko suggested a list of topics for trilateral cooperation: political consultations, military and technological cooperation, cooperation within the Partnership for Peace project, mutual support in aspirations to integrate with Europe (Ukraine and Poland, for example, could help Belarus enter the Council of Europe), joint investments in the Odessa-Gdansk traffic corridor, and so forth. "Poland and Ukraine should persuade all of their neighbors and the West to cooperate with Belarus," said Vasylenko. Fyalko in addition suggested that a meeting of the presidents of all three states be held to debate the effects of NATO expansion. All participants expressed their willingness to uphold the trilateral dialogue. The next conference with the same attendees will probably be held in Kiev in six months.

Poland: Defense Minister on Ties to Ukraine, Belarus

LD0206181496 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] National Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski said today that Poland wants to build good political relations with all of its neighbors in the East. He added that this also concerns military cooperation.

Minister Dobrzanski was taking part in ceremonies marking the 75th anniversary of the Volunteer Fire Brigade in Uchanie, Lublin Province.

[begin Dobrzanski recording] We have signed military cooperation agreements with all of our Eastern neighbors, and we are making efforts to implement these agreements. At present, our military relations are best with Ukraine, where we have initiated many projects—about 80.

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Tomorrow I am setting off for Ukraine, where I will be involved in exercises that are part of the Partnership for Peace initiative. Ukrainian, Russian, American, and also Polish units are taking part. I will inspect the exercises. Many ministers will come there. I expect both Grachev and Perry to arrive.

This reflects good cooperation not only with Ukraine but also with the other Eastern countries, as most of them are taking part in the exercises as well. We are a bit concerned about Belarus, but we are trying to build the best possible relations with Belarus, too, irrespective of various reports coming from that country.

Tomorrow, during the exercises in Ukraine, I will meet the Belarusian defense minister. I will try to clarify many issues and misunderstandings that have arisen from the recent statements made by Belarusian politicians. We will spare no efforts to have the best possible relations and cooperation with Belarus. [end recording]

Poland: Defense Minister Departs for Ukraine

LD0306113596 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 3 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] National Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski said that Poland wanted to build good political relations with its neighbors in the East. The minister is leaving for Ukraine today, where Partnership for Peace military exercises are taking place with the participation of Russian, Ukrainian, American, and Polish soldiers.

[Begin Dobrzanski recording] Many ministers will meet there. I suppose Grachev and Perry will travel there. This is a sign of good cooperation with Ukraine as well as with other countries because many of them are taking part in the exercises.

We are slightly anxious about Belarus, but, regardless of what reports come from Belarus, we are trying to build the best possible relations with it. During the exercises in Ukraine, I will meet the Belarusian defense minister, and I will try to clarify the many issues and misunderstandings that ensue from recent remarks by Belarusian politicians. [end recording]

Poland: President Kwasniewski May Sue Over Slanderous Remarks

LD3105140796 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1238 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 31 May—After his visit to the 25th Interpol conference in Warsaw, President Aleksander Kwasniewski said he would take the case to court if reports were confirmed that the former head of the prison service, Pawel Moczydlowski, made remarks in which he linked the president's name to an agent code-named "Kat."

At yesterday's conference of the 100 Movement, Moczydlowski, referring to recent personnel changes in the State Protection Office, said, among other things, "it remains to ask Internal Affairs Minister Zbigniew Siemiatkowski whether there are suspicions that behind the code name Kat is the name of Aleksander Kwasniewski, and behind that of Minim the name of Leszek Miller."

When journalists recalled that the remarks by the former head of the prison service were made "in the form of a question," Kwasniewski replied that "any slander, even if it is in the form of a question, is still slander."

Poland: Prosecutor's Office: Dropping Oleksy Case Justified

LD3105120496 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] News just in: In a statement just released, the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office has ruled that Colonel Slawomir Gorzkiewicz was justified in dropping the investigation into the alleged collaboration of Jozef Oleksy with the Russian intelligence service.

Poland: Official Comments on Dropping of Oleksy Case

LD3105124596 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1056 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 31 May—Colonel Slawomir Gorzkiewicz was justified in dropping the investigation into the alleged collaboration of Jozef Oleksy with the Russian intelligence service—this is the conclusion of the inquiry into the preliminary investigation that was carried out by the supervisory department of the supreme military prosecutor's office.

Colonel Wlodzimierz Pospiech, press officer of the supreme military prosecutor's office, said today that "the evidence procedures had not been fully exhausted; for example, confrontation of some of the witnesses had been dropped" (it was not revealed which witnesses he referred to). According to Pospiech, in spite of this, the analysis of the whole range of evidence documents made it possible "to say unequivocally that the decision to drop the investigation, as well as the legal grounds for doing it, were justified." Pospiech emphasized that the quality of decisions issued in the course of the investigation as well as their competence were without fault.

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Currently, there are no grounds to resume the investigation, which is not subject to appeal.

Col. Gorzkiewicz dropped the case on 22 April because no offense had been committed, which at the same time undermined the value of the documents gathered by the State Protection Office.

The prosecutor's office of the Pomeranian Military District is still investigating whether Gorzkiewicz revealed state secrets by giving Jozef Oleksy the name of the officer of the Russian special services who began work for the Polish services.

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Romania: Nastase Meets With Foreign Observers for Elections

AU0106190796 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Adrian Nastase, executive president of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] met with a delegation of the Party of European Socialists, consisting of representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Democratic Left Party of Italy, and the Social Democratic Party of Sweden. The delegation is in Romania to observe the organization and holding of tomorrow's local elections. The meeting was attended by Mrs. Hildegard Puwak, PDSR vice president, and Mr. Gheorghi Prisacaru, head of the PDSR Department for International Relations.

The Pro-Democratia [Pro-Democracy] Association will supply 580 voluntary observers for Bucharest and 4,100 throughout the country. Observers from the U.S. British, Russian Federation, Poland, Canada, Hungary, and the Netherlands embassies and from the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] will also participate in the elections.

Both the internal and foreign observers participated in a training seminar organized by Pro-Democratia, ROMPRES reports.

Romania: Ethnic Hungarians See 'Manipulated' Elections

LD0106151196 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] are concerned that the outcome of the local government elections this weekend may be manipulated by the authorities through influence on the composition of election committees. Peter Marvanyi reports:

[Marvanyi] The UDMR's Tirgu Mures branch has submitted to the Central Election Committee a note of protest about the illegal composition of the Tirgu Mures electoral district's election committees.

According to the law, the chairmen of election committees are appointed by drawing lots and this method is used to select the chairmen in the various election wards of the city. For some strange reason the drawing of lots resulted in only one ethnic Hungarian chairman in the 71 wards.

What is more, it happens that 21 of the 71 chairmen are heads of the institution, school, or nursery school where the election ward is centered and the balloting will be held. According to the UDMR's calculations, the probability of an employee—in a drawing of some 300 names—being selected as election chairman of his own institution is 1 in 17 billion. As for the probability of only one Hungarian chairman being drawn out of 71, the UDMR could not even find a mathematical formula.

In any case, the UDMR said that the evidence outlined above clearly suggested that no drawing of lots had ever actually taken place. [passage omitted]

Romania: Ethnic Hungarians Lose Support in Cluj

LD0206154196 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0400 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The local government elections are already under way in Romania. [passage omitted] In Transylvania attention is focused on Cluj-Napoca, the area of operations of the infamous spoiler of things, Gheorghe Funar. Both the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] and the Romanian opposition parties would like to have Funar replaced as mayor of the city, but their candidate could win only if the UDMR and the opposition parties had cooperated. This unity is, however, lacking. Csaba Barta reports:

[Barta] I have asked UDMR city councillor Peter Ekstein Kovacs about the main electoral goal of the Cluj-Napoca branch of the UDMR.

[Begin Ekstein Kovacs recording] Naturally, it is to win as many city and county seats as possible and do everything we can to replace Mayor Funar, who has made life impossible in the city over the past four years. We all voted in favor of this goal. We decided not to field our own candidate. [passage omitted] Surveys showed that fielding our own candidate would only have helped the Romanian National Unity Party to win an absolute majority in the first round. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Barta] Jozsef Nandor Nemenyi, UDMR parliamentary deputy for Cluj County, represents the group of the UDMR that supported the idea of a UDMR candidate for the post of mayor.

[Begin Nemenyi recording] First, the most important argument in favor is that we should find out how large our support is. Second, I feel that a considerable proportion of Cluj's population has moved away from the UDMR.

We should have brought them out to vote. On the one hand, we could have won more seats; on the other, we could even have won the mayoral seat because the Romanian opposition is weak. [passage omitted] It would have been a show of strength by the UDMR. [end recording]

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[Barta] A week before the elections you announced your support for the Democratic Convention candidate. [passage omitted]

[Ekstein] [passage omitted] Our assessment was, after analyzing several opinion polls, that this candidate had a real chance to defeat Gheorghe Funar in the second round. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Romania: Leaders Comment on Progress of Local Elections

AU0206152896

[FBIS Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian on 2 June broadcasts several more reports on the progress of the voting in the national elections.

At 1000 GMT the radio carries an announcer-read report on the participation in balloting during the first three hours after the opening of the polling stations. According to this data, general participation until 0900 GMT was about 15 percent throughout the country. The announcer then details figures for the electorate's participation until 0900 GMT, as reported from each county. Aside from certain minor irregularities reported from various polling offices around the country, mainly dealing with "the absence of the names of several voters from the balloting lists" and the "lack of ink for balloting seals," the elections are "proceeding smoothly nationwide."

At 1010 GMT, an unidentified correspondent reports another faux pas involving Anton Vatasescu, Bucharest mayoral candidate for the Social Democratic Union [USD], who presented himself at his polling station, No. 112 at General School No. 150, "only to find out that his name was not on the list."

At 1200 GMT, the announcer reports Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu's statement on voting at section No. 108 in the zone of Docenti, to the extent that "in his opinion, the candidates of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] represent a strong team." PDSR Executive President Adrian Nastase is reported as saying that "this day is a celebration of democracy for those wishing for a change," and he "expressed his conviction that the PDSR will obtain much better results than in the ballot four years ago, particularly in the villages, the small and average towns, and in Bucharest."

Another announcer reports that Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], voted at Pajura High School in Bucharest, where he said that he hopes that "this year's local elections will vote in a new and more efficient, competent, and honest generation of politicians to the positions of mayors and councillors."

Ion Diaconescu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], who voted at the Ion Creanga High School in Bucharest, is reported as saying that "this year's local elections are very important, as they are more than a mere ballot; they are also a means to test public opinion." He went on to say that "the result of the elections will prove whether the much expected change for the better and the political recovery of Romanian society have occurred."

Petre Roman, leader of the Democratic Party [PD], who voted at the Jean Monnet High School in Bucharest, is reported as saying that "the current electoral campaign was better organized than in 1992, as far as the dissemination of the positions of the candidates is concerned." He expressed "trust in the USD offer for Bucharest."

Romania: Low Voter Turnout May Necessitate New Elections

AU0206172996

[FBIS Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 2 June carries a recorded dispatch by Mihai Cutus, from the Bucharest Municipality Electoral Bureau, who reports on the progress of the balloting in Bucharest, where "more than 1.8 million inhabitants have been called to cast their votes in the local elections." Cutus invites Teodor Bedros, chairman of the Municipal Electoral Bureau, to provide additional details on the voting. Bedros says that "a certain increase in the turnout of voters has been noted in recent hours, which is an encouraging sign, given the low turnout so far."

The announcer then proceeds to give additional figures of the electorate's participation until 1500 (1200 GMT) in several Bucharest sectors, which "hovers around 25 percent." Several "discrepancies were also noted between the posted lists and the actual balloting lists in several polling stations, something which has hampered the smooth voting procedure."

The announcer says that "elections in the Cluj County constituency are proceeding in a calm and correct atmosphere" despite "certain minor organizational irregularities, which were immediately remedied." The "voter turnout in Cluj-Napoca up to 1700 [1400 GMT] was between 39 and 56 percent." In Harghita County, "some 52.59 percent of the electorate had cast their votes by 1730."

At 1610 GMT the hook-up with the Bucharest Municipality Electoral Bureau is resumed, and Teodor Bedros is again invited to supply further details. Bedros says that the "voter turnout in Bucharest is relatively good."

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However, he "expects further participation until 2100 [1800 GMT] and later until 2400, as voting in this election is a civic act that honors both the people to be elected and the voters themselves."

The announcer then reports on the progress of the balloting in various counties as of 1800 local time, or 1500 GMT: "Forty-two percent of the voters had cast their votes in Neamt County"; in Arad County, the turnout has been "only 16.9 percent so far"; the ballot in Timis County is proceeding "without problems"; the turnout in Constanta has been "pretty low," with only "39.8 percent of the electorate having cast their votes"; voter turnout in Oradea amounted to 42.2 percent, while "county-wide it reached 50.2 percent"; and in Galati, the turnout has been "only 35 percent so far, but growing." Other participation percentages by 1800 are as follows: 36.3 percent in Arges; 44.43 percent in Suceava; 37.4 percent in Iasi; and 34 percent in Vaslui.

The announcer reports that the Ministry of National Defense announced that "balloting in the local elections has proceeded normally in the polling offices organized in all the military units or deployment localities." Some "82 percent of the overall conscripts, students, and pupils from the military educational institutes" had cast their votes by 1700.

The announcer concludes his electoral reporting with the following communique: "The League for the Defense of Human Rights [LADO] considers that, given the low voter turnout, it is quite possible that less than 51 percent of the electorate will cast their vote. Consequently, according to the Law on Local Elections, new elections will be organized, and the candidates with the larger number of votes will be declared winners, regardless of the number of votes received. Therefore, there is the risk that an extremely small number of people may decide who our mayors and councillors will be in the next four years. LADO calls on all citizens entitled to vote, particularly young ones, to go to the polling stations by 2100 to express their political will."

Romania: Polling Hours Extended To Encourage Voter Turnout

AU0206202496

[FBIS Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1900 GMT on 2 June carries a 10-minute report on the unfolding of the local elections in Romania. The announcer says that the polling stations will stay open in Bucharest Municipality until 2400 [2100 GMT]. "The chairman of the Bucharest Municipality Electoral Bureau has stated that, following consultations with the chairmen of the sector electoral bureaus, the decision was made to extend the voting time until 2400 because the voter turnout percentage is only between 33 and 47 percent, and one is hoping to achieve a participation of 51 percent in the last few hours of the day."

According to the announcer, voting continues at most polling stations in Bucharest. Likewise, balloting has been extended by one to three hours in most counties, up to 2400, practically "whenever the chairmen of the local electoral bureaus deem it necessary and ask for it." There follow dispatches from Timisoara, Cluj, Arges, Sibiu, Harghita, Constanta, and other counties, where only a few of the polling offices have closed, "the majority staying open because of the low voter turnout."

The announcer says that "the League for the Defense of Human Rights [LADO] and Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], consider that, given the low participation in the balloting, there is a distinct possibility that less than 51 percent of the electorate will have gone to the polls. Consequently, according to the Law on Local Elections, the first ballot may have to be repeated. The risk thus arises that an insignificant minority may decide who our mayors and councillors will be in the next four years. An appeal is launched to the citizens to go to the polls once every four years, so that everyone can decide for himself."

The chairman of the National Statistics Commission, Alexandru Radocea, is quoted as saying that "the enthusiasm was not great with regard to participation in the ballot. Absenteeism has been the dominant note today." Radocea is quoted as saying that "centralized nationwide participation figures show that 5.23 percent of the electorate voted by 0900; 17.36 percent by 1200; and only 40.1 percent of the electorate by 1800 [1500 GMT], that is, after 12 hours." Radocea adds that there were big differences between the counties regarding participation in the voting: "Participation was between 40 and 50 percent in 18 counties. Participation in another 22 counties was under 40 percent at 1800, with the lowest percentage being registered in Olt County, with 30.39 percent, and Gorj County with 30.38 percent."

At 1910 GMT the newscast concludes with an interview with General George Ioan Danescu, secretary of state, chief of the Public Order Department, and first deputy minister of the interior, by correspondent Marin Constantin. Danescu says that "from the data available to us thus far, that is, by 2115 [1815 GMT], I can tell you that as far as we are concerned, the elections have proceeded without incidents, under normal circumstances, throughout the country," something that "confirms my forecast of last week." The deputy minister stresses that "two factors have contributed to the good unfolding of the

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local elections: the efficient measures taken by Ministry of the Interior structures, and the responsibility and seriousness shown by the population in the carrying out of this constitutional right." Danescu concludes with "taking this opportunity to thank all the country's citizens for their contribution to this climate of calm and tranquillity and to the prevalent civilized atmosphere, as is only natural at such a time."

Romania: Parties Allege Poor Organization in Local Elections

AU0306152696 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 3 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference today, Radu Vasile, general secretary of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], said that the government is to blame for the poor organization of the local elections. The arguments in support of his statement are: lack of money for informing the electorate about the balloting process; the existence of a disastrous situation as far as the registration of the population is concerned; the nondistribution of voter booklets; and the lack of ink at certain polling stations. PNTCD President Ion Diaconescu said that the local elections should not be repeated at the national level. He added that, if this is going to happen—even at the local level—then the results will be the same, if the current deficiencies are not solved by the government.

In a communique released today during the weekly news conference of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], the leadership of this political grouping claimed that certain irregularities were noted during the first ballot, something that shows that the elections had not been properly prepared. Regarding absenteeism at the polls, the PSM considers that it reflects the population's discontent with the higher prices, the degradation of the living standard, the increase in unemployment, and the poor administration of the country's districts. In turn, PSM Vice President Adrian Paunescu said that the entire Romanian political class must suffer pangs of conscience for failing to convince the electorate to turn out to the polls, our correspondent Florin Lepadatu reports.

The Pro-Democratia [Pro-Democracy] Association and the Helsinki Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Romania [CHADOR] released a communique whereby they state that consider that the overall organization of the balloting in Bucharest was extremely deficient. Among the shortcomings noted are: The electoral lists contained countless serious errors; polling offices were not supplied with the necessary voting materials; and the electoral lists and the voting card samples were not posted in the majority of the polling stations. The two organizations also consider that various decisions of the electoral bureaus had negative effects, while certain chairmen and members of the electoral commissions were not familiar with the legal provisions. In conclusion, ROMPRES reports, Pro-Democratia and CHADOR believe that the aforementioned irregularities are proof of serious flaws in administering the local elections in Bucharest and that, through their large number, these irregularities can influence the result of the vote.

Romania: Election Results Not Expected Before 5 Jun

AU0306104596 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 3 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1000 GMT carries a five-minute report on yesterday's local elections. The announcer quotes Adrian Nitoiu, chairman of the Central Electoral Bureau [BEC], who said at a news conference today that the nationwide centralized results of the elections will be released next Thursday, 6 June and that these results will become known faster in the regional offices, that is in the electoral bureaus of the county constituencies and of Bucharest municipality and sectors.

The announcer goes on to say that from the data available to us from BEC, voter turnout exceeded 50 percent in only two of the counties by 1800 hours [1500 GMT] yesterday. In Bucharest, only 37 percent of the electorate had been to the polls by that time.

In an interview with radio correspondent Tudor Stanciu, BEC Vice President Dumitru Gazetovici details the procedural aspects of the vote counting at BEC. He says that the mass media may be able to learn the results at local level sooner than the centralized ones, which cannot be expected to be announced before next Wednesday.

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Slovenia: Thaler, Italian FM Discuss EU Membership

AU0206133296 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At the meeting of the Central European Initiative in Vienna, Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler met his Italian counterpart Lamberto Dini, among others. The two ministers talked about the signing of the agreement on Slovenia's associate membership in the EU and established that preparations for the signing are proceeding well, so that our country could sign the agreement at the meeting of the EU Council in Luxembourg on 10 or 11 June.

However, Thaler and Dini could not establish a position regarding Great Britain's recent decision to hamper the normal work of the EU, while it in fact decisively supports Slovenia's rapprochement with the Union.

The foreign ministers also talked about a possible meeting of the two countries' prime ministers. Janez Drnovsek and Normano Prodi will probably meet already in the middle of this month, that is, before the meeting of the Fifteen in Florence in the second half of June.

Slovenia: Drnovsek Anticipates Stability Through Mandate

AU3105151896 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Following talks with the parliamentary parties, Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek believes that the government can count on stability and support until the end of its mandate. The prime minister also anticipates that Slovenia will sign the EU Associate Membership agreement sometime around 10 June. He believes that the signing of the social pact signals support for the government economic measures. Sandi Frelih reports from the noon news conference:

[Begin recording] [Frelih] In Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek's assessment the coalition agreement between the Liberals and the Christian Democrats is obsolete, but the parties have to cooperate in the government until the end of the mandate. As the behavior of the coalition partner in the case of the foreign minister's replacement was not constructive, his party is compelled to voice its dissatisfaction and regret. A new party agreement, which would replace the coalition agreement, is supposed to contain support for the government ministers, an agreement on the strategic goals for accession to Europe and NATO, and economic measures. So what does the other government partner think?

[Drnovsek] In the two talks I held with the president of the Christian Democrats this week, the reaction was basically positive. Of course there are still some individual questions that one or the other party might expose and, of course, there is also the question of the relevant decisionmaking, that is, verification.

[Frelih] Drnovsek believes that Slovenia will participate at the EU summit in Florence at the end of June, as efforts are being made to try to ensure that British noncooperation, which is not aimed against our country, does not influence our admission. The prime minister believes that our chances for integration into NATO are very good. However, the no-confidence vote in the foreign minister, as a result of which our foreign partners have to be assured that our orientation has not changed, caused substantial damage.

The prime minister pointed out that the economic situation was improving. This is also suggested by the April increase in production and a low May inflation. It does not mean, however, that the government is backing down from its economic measures. The prime minister said that he and National Bank Governor Arhar had agreed on the coordination of a stricter anti-inflation policy by the end of the year. [end recording]

Slovenia: Prime Minister Interviewed on Joining EU, NATO

LD0106224396 Ecully Euronews Television Network in English 1530 GMT 1 Jun 96

[Interview with Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek by correspondent Giacomo Mazzione; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Mazzione] You have been in Brussels to meet the president of the EU commission, Mr. Santer. Is there any progress in the negotiations with the European Union?

[Drnovsek] Yes, there is progress. I am quite satisfied with meeting, this meeting, and we expect, we hope that Slovenia will sign in forthcoming weeks European agreements. But it depends very much on the Italian presidency, after waiting now for some time for elections in Italy to be concluded and a new government to be formed. So now we wait for the move of the new Italian Government.

[Mazzione] What do you expect from this agreement, association agreement? What kind of improvement will happen?

[Drnovsek] Slovenia is dedicated to becoming a member of the European Union. We are very much linked with European Union, 70 percent of our trade is with the

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union. We have formed also other links, traditional cultural links, so we see our future as a member, full member, of the European Union, and we regard the association agreement as a transitional step toward full membership. And economic results of Slovenia are such that we certainly can be the first or among the first few new members of the European Union. So, immediately after signing the association European agreement, Slovenia will present its application for full membership and we expect to be in the first enlargement of the European Union.

[Mazzione] You mentioned the dispute with the Italian Government. Can you explain to us the real reason behind this dispute and the real size of the problem?

[Drnovsek] We were surprised at the beginning that this problem occurred. We didn't expect it. The problem is that out of the former Yugoslavia, Slovenia inherited an agreement, international agreement, between Italy and former Yugoslavia concerning the borders, minority issues, and also other issues, including the problem of properties that have been nationalized after World War II by Tito's Yugoslavia at that time. Slovenia considers these problems have been all solved with these international agreements, so-called Osimo and Rome agreements, but Italy presented some new claims or new proposals to change some of these issues, namely the issue of the property restitution. Slovenia accepted the obligation from former Yugoslavia for financial compensation for the properties that have been nationalized after World War II. Now Italy would like to have these properties given back in, let's say [word indistinct] land as houses not as money. So we discussed, we negotiated these issues. Now, after...

[Mazzione, interrupting] But what is the size of the problem. How many houses and lands are...?

[Drnovsek, interrupting] You see at the beginning the problem was bigger, it was perhaps 1,000 houses or—and there was some land and so. Now I think there are still a few hundred units that are in public hands, all others are in private hands. But also what is still in public property, now there are people who live in these houses, so for Slovenia it is difficult to do these kinds of changes, but we are willing to continue to pay financial compensation. So the problem perhaps is more psychological or symbolic, some problems from history, and somehow, some kind of correcting of these past relations and developments.

Really, the problem is not so big, and after negotiations, the European Union was also included. The European Union, the presidency at that time, Spanish presidency, proposed some compromise, so-called Plan Solana, which the Slovenian parliament after difficult discussions last month, in April, accepted. This plan means that Slovenia will fasten the liberalization of the legislation regarding properties, the market for properties, so practically with this faster liberalization we would come soon to the situation where all European citizens would be able to purchase, to buy properties in Slovenia. This obligation of course coming from Rome and Osimo agreement will continue.

[Mazzione] Why did you say you expect that with the new government in Italy the situation could improve positively?

[Drnovsek] Already the former government accepted, if I say so, the so-called Plan Solana, the plan of the Spanish presidency. We did also. This is one of the reasons why we think the new government will not change this position. And there have not been any declaration that would show that relations between Italy and Slovenia could worsen. On the contrary, we have the impression that both sides somehow are willing to overcome these remaining problems from the past, so let's talk about the future, not about the past. Slovenia has fulfilled its commitment. Our government is ready to sign the association agreement on the basis of this compromise proposal from the Madrid summit. If Italy, the Italian presidency accepts it, after the new government is formed, we can proceed with other problems. I would like to underline, to mention that all other bilateral relations between Italy and Slovenia are going very well, economic relations for example. Italy is the second largest trade partner with Slovenia, and there is fast growth of all economic exchange. There are many common projects for the future. So I think that certainly we should overcome these remaining problems, which are more psychological, from the past and concentrate ourselves on the future.

[Mazzione] Concerning the future, it seems your foreign policy has been disapproved by your own parliament because a few days ago your foreign affairs minister, Mr. Thaler, a member of your party, has been criticized by the parliament and forced to resign. One of the reasons for this criticism was your foreign affairs policy, especially concerning negotiations with Italy.

[Drnovsek] It's true, it's true, but this doesn't mean that government policy will change. On the contrary, government policy will remain the same concerning the main objectives, EU and NATO. On why the foreign minister has fallen, I think he found himself in this difficult situation. On one side we made a very serious commitment in our parliament in internal politics to accept this compromise proposal, Plan Solana. It was a very difficult internal discussion and a very serious commitment from the part of the government. On the

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other side, there was no immediate reply from EU or Italy, also because of the reasons, because of elections, and there was no government practically. So there was no response, no...

[Mazzione] [Indistinct words]

[Drnovsek] So association, European agreement, has still not been signed. So somehow we made this serious internal political commitment and without, let's say, response or reward to get some result out of it. So we found ourselves in a difficult position, and in Slovenia elections are approaching, we have elections toward the end of the year. So this situation became rather difficult and I think that Minister Thaler was a victim of this, this difficult situation.

[Mazzione] So if I translate, it means that he has been fired for internal political reasons.

[Drnovsek] Certainly, I think so. The opposition, or let's say competition, political competition, just somehow made profit of this situation where we can't show that despite of our commitment, a compromise, there is some success and progress in European Union. And ...

[Mazzione, interrupting] But he got the negative vote also of your (?ally) in the government, of the Christian Democrats' party?

[Drnovsek] Unfortunately, yes, and we don't like it, if I say so, but it seems that we are now coming to a situation where everybody is competing against everybody. We are approaching the election and obviously the position of my party perhaps is too strong from the point of view of opposition parties, including coalition partner, Christian Democrats, so it seems that everybody was somehow interested in undermining the position of the leading governmental party. But the government otherwise is not in crisis. We can, we will survive easily the forthcoming months, and elections will be held normally at the end of the year as according to our constitution. So I don't foresee early elections or any change of government, so probably Minister Thaler will be the only victim of this situation. But certainly we hope now that there will be some response from the other side.

[Mazzione] From the Christian Democrats' side?

[Drnovsek] From the European side. If the European agreement had been signed, the position of Minister Thaler would have been so strong that certainly he would not have fallen in this vote of confidence. But I think still he and the government will get some satisfaction if we have some result, some success now and finally make this step forward in signing European agreement.

[Mazzione] But you have to replace Mr. Thaler in the government.

[Drnovsek] Now he is acting foreign minister, and ...

[Mazzione, interrupting] For a maximum of three months.

[Drnovsek] I can replace him as foreign minister but I must say I haven't decided yet. I will talk to different political parties in the parliament to see what could be the situation. So there is a possibility that Mr. Thaler will act some time practically as acting foreign minister and then I'll see the situation in parliament and see if we are going to find another one.

[Mazzione] Nobody knows the future, of course, but after the election, you could come back to a situation where a coalition will be needed. Do you think that after this experience you can start a coalition again with the Christian Democrats? Do you still trust Mr. Peterle, the leader of your allied party?

[Drnovsek] This move certainly didn't improve our relations, I must say, but for me the situation after elections is completely open. Now we will start, I will start next week negotiations, I will make a round of negotiations with all parliamentarian parties and their leaders and certainly in these talks we will also somehow check the possibility of a postelection coalition, so to see what we should do with this situation concerning the foreign minister, but we will include also the possibility of postelection coalitions. So I should say the Christian Democrats still remain a potential partner for the period after elections, but certainly they are in no better position than the others. I can see also all other possibilities, so that other parties would be included in coalition; but certainly I expect that the Liberal Democratic Party will remain the strongest party after elections.

[Mazzione] Let's turn the page of the European Union and let's go to the economy. That seems to be a strong point of your government. Your country's economic performance seems to be the best among the former eastern bloc countries: low inflation, low unemployment, and good growth. What are the reasons for this success?

[Drnovsek] It's true. Slovenia is often quoted as the best case of transition, the best among the central and eastern European countries. Just recently, for the first time, the credit ratings were published for Slovenia by three of the most known international financial agencies, and Slovenia was ranked as A in all these three ratings, as the first and only country from central and eastern Europe, in front of countries like Czech Republic or some EU members like Greece. Slovenia has a better rating. Indeed this is a good result,

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considering after independence five years ago we lost the Yugoslav markets practically overnight and that we had to compensate for the markets and perform at the same time, to make a transition from a socialist system to a market economy. It seems we have done relatively well. I can't say that the government was good, but perhaps we contributed something to this general economic and political management. I also think we have very good generations of managers and experts in Slovenia, unlike the other former socialist countries. Slovenia was much more open already before, and our people had market experiences and knowledge and tradition, so probably this is the reason why we adapted much faster than the others. Today Slovenia is a very open economy. We export a lot; we have one of the highest exports per capita in the world.

[Mazzione] On this topic, there is one question I want to know your opinion about. Most of your import-export is with Germany—a total of a quarter of the whole amount. This doesn't bother you? Don't you feel this is a risk, politically and also economically, because now they are going into a difficult period?

[Drnovsek] It is true, Germany is the major economic partner, and certainly there is some influence on Slovenia if economic performance worsens in Germany. Already we can see there is some negative influence coming from Germany and other EU countries as well, since we export 70 percent of our products to the EU. This is the reason we now revise the forecasts for this year. Our estimations were that we will have 5 percent growth this year. It will probably be a little lower now, probably 3-5 percent growth of the GDP. At the same time, we can see there is practically no growth in Germany and some other EU countries, so we must admit we are somehow dependent or connected with the EU market. That's why our government has already introduced some measures of austerity, to cut some social costs.

[Mazzione] But in the last months you suffered many strikes by civil servants and you raised the salaries for this sector. This will not affect your austerity?

[Drnovsek] We still fight the the civil servants. We had a long strike of doctors, medical doctors, and there was, at the end, some compromise. Much less than what they wanted, but this has somehow limited it. We had almost four weeks of strike of medicines [as heard]. It was a tough fight. Now we have some problems with some others, like teachers for example, but this is a very similar situation to what is happening in Germany or France or some other countries where some austerity measures have been introduced. The government has prepared and will propose to parliament additional measures, and we will cut taxes for companies to increase their competitiveness.

[Mazzione] What about privatization? This is another chapter of your policy that seems to be slow.

[Drnovsek] Yes, but in this case probably slow didn't mean that it was not good. I think that in Slovenia we somehow used also experiences of the others. Some countries were very fast but also made mistakes in privatization. So, the process was a little slower because we had a lot of discussions in the parliament and different concepts, and we compared these different concepts and at the end there was some mixed approach. We used different techniques that were also used in different countries, but now the process is approaching an end. More than two-thirds of the companies have been privatized already, and except for some legally difficult cases, I can say the process has been concluded in this stage of privatization from so-called social ownership to private ownership. We expect in the forthcoming years that this privatization will give some additional push and results in economic efficiency. We expect new, additional economic results and growth out of this.

[Mazzione] Coming back to your trip to Brussels, you met Mr. Solana, the secretary general of NATO. You expect to join NATO when?

[Drnovsek] Very soon, if I say so. We discussed this with Mr. Solana. I met him now; I met him also three weeks ago, when he visited Slovenia; and also I visited the United States and Canada 10 days ago and I had very positive response from these countries, so we have good expectations that Slovenia will be included in the first enlargement of NATO. We think that in 1997, the discussion for full membership for Slovenia could start, immediately after NATO will finish its process of internal decisionmaking and set the criteria and so on. Immediately after the process for enlargement is open, I think Slovenia will be among the very first countries to start negotiations.

[Mazzione] Because in your country there is not the problem with Russians. You are out of the [word indistinct] polemic.

[Drnovsek] Exactly. Slovenia has never been, if I say so, in the Soviet sphere or Russian interests' sphere.

[Mazzione] Thanks to Tito.

[Drnovsek] Or thanks to our geographical position, to our, let's say, history, culture, and so on. With the Yalta agreement, Yugoslavia was divided 50-50 between the West and Stalin. Slovenia was, of course, in this western half of the country, so it has never been a question for

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Slovenia, and I must say we have not met any objections till now from Russia.

[Mazzione] But you need to become a member of NATO? Some threats, external threats, frighten you?

[Drnovsek] Not directly. If I consider the situation, I should say that Slovenia is not threatened. We have no enemies; we have not this kind of problem. We escaped the Yugoslav war because we didn't have minorities, for example Serbian minorities. Slovenia was ethnically homogeneous and today is quite stable. But still, we are a relatively small country, and we would feel much safer in the framework of, let's say, a western alliance that is based on democratic principles and that we regard as an island of stability for the future. We think this island will spread and that stability will spread in Europe and in the world, and we want to be a part of this. I think Slovenia can be an important element of stability in this region. It's important also for Italy, I think, that Slovenia is stable and a part of this alliance.

[Mazzione] I wish all the best to you and your country.

Slovenia: Drnovsek's Imminent Fall, Rigelnik's Return Rumored

AU0306092796 Ljubljana MAG in Slovene 29 May 96 p 19

[Commentary by Danilo Slivnik: "Herman's Return"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The paradox is complete. Will Dr. Janez Drnovsek fall half a year before the elections, just as Lojze Peterle did in 1992? For "the model" of 1992 proved to be successful when Drnovsek as prime minister safeguarded the post for the next four years. Will the Kucan clan attempt to put this formula into practice again over the next few days? This is not certain yet, but it is rumored that the clan is contemplating this possibility and already has a new man in store for the post. Evidently, they no longer entirely trust Drnovsek and would like to secure their backs, especially if the Liberal Democracy [LDS] performs badly as a whole at the next elections.

One can already observe these signals and the clan's ideologists are fully aware that a reserve variant in needed. The coalition is falling apart, the success story is slowly dwindling, the foreign policy is in a deadlock, and increasing numbers of politicians are seriously concerned. It seems that the only question left is whether to risk the new "technical government" and the establishment of a new coalition relationship which would also survive beyond the elections before autumn. The risk is truly great, but it can also bring really big profits ("the saviors" have always been well received among the Slovenes). Herman Rigelnik, who is supposed to replace Drnovsek, has already held confidential talks with Milan Kucan and the idea was supposedly in principle supported by some of Kucan's people in the Liberal Democracy. Not all members of the LDS council know about the proposal yet; however, some of them have reportedly already started abandoning Drnovsek, among them the main party ideologist Dr. Boomer Kovac (the one who wrote in the secretaries' magazine that "whatever brings profit" is moral).

The only snag is that Drnovsek, despite his numerous shortcomings, attracts public opinion votes for the party and that the LDS would be in an even more difficult political position without him. The clan is well aware of this, although they are all very angry at him for reportedly being "vain and ungrateful." That is why they are considering an alternative. If they could explain the government turnabout with Rigelnik to the public properly, then the whole thing could work out and bring even greater electoral support. Especially because there is no doubt that the old nomenclature would support Herman Rigelnik, while a possible no-confidence vote in Drnovsek would present the opposition parties with a great dilemma. The opposition would hardly have any choice but to support the no-confidence vote; however, afterward they would probably also have to support Rigelnik, who would in many departments be definitely worse than Drnovsek.

Politics is a ruthless game and some of the biggest behind-the-scenes names are at stake. As can be heard, Rigelnik is very much in favor of the experiment because he sees it as a good opportunity to return to the politics from which he fled panic-stricken in 1994. He considers himself a very capable man, but those who worked with him in Gorenje when he was "in charge of rehabilitation" there know his true qualifications. In spring 1991, when he left Velenje [Gorenje headquarters] the concern had had 60 million German marks losses, which is more than at the onset of the rehabilitation. That is why he was nicknamed in Velenje "a man who will always know how to show results even if he does not create them." [passage omitted]

That the situation is serious is shown by the campaign that the most reliable of Kucan's media—especially DNEVNIK, which never reports anything by coincidence but always writes only what the president's advisers hint to its editors—have started up against Drnovsek. Drnovsek's economic policy has been under attack for several weeks and over the past few days he has been flooded by highly simplified and pathetic criticism in connection with the downfall of Zoran Thaler (while, on the other hand, one could not overlook the praise for

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the Slovene People's Party). This is quite enough for Drnovsek to become very worried indeed and, with at least with one eye, to start looking for things to do once he is no longer the prime minister....

Slovenia: Liberals To Formally Break Coalition Agreement

AU2905144296 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 29 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The council of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia [LDS] will formally break off the coalition agreement with the Christian Democrats on Tuesday [4 June], LDS Secretary General Gregor Golobic stated, and assessed that such a decision only meant formalizing existing relations between the parties. Golobic expects that the coalition partner will agree to future cooperation on the agreed projects, thus allowing for a normal functioning of government.

He hailed the signing of the social agreement as a great achievement for the stabilization of the economic situation. Some parties do not like this, he said, and that is why they are trying to force the trade unions to step down from the agreement.

As for the rumors of a constructive no-confidence vote in the prime minister, Golobic said that the parliamentary parties in the talks with Prime Minister Drnovsek had made assurances that there were no realistic possibilities for radical government changes.

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Federal

FRY: Milosevic, Christopher Hold Talks

LD0206161196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1559 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, June 2 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said in Geneva on Sunday that the military segment of the Dayton agreement for Bosnia was being implemented for the most part.

They also said that some problems in implementing the civilian segment of the agreement could be settled through joint efforts in the near future.

Milosevic and Christopher are participating at a meeting of the signatories of the Dayton peace agreement, representatives of the member-states of the Contact Group for Bosnia and senior U.S. officials.

Milosevic and Christopher discussed all essential issues relating to the implementation of the peace agreement, reached in Dayton last November.

The Yugoslav side stressed the need for holding elections in Bosnia as early as possible and for setting up legitimate bodies that would make it possible for the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia to open a process of stabilization on an entirely new basis.

Milosevic and Christopher especially focused on relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the United States, i.e. possibilities for promoting their ties.

FRY: U.S. Said Seeking Ways To Unfreeze Belgrade's Assets

LD3105190196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Jovan Zebic discussed here Friday with an official of the U.S. Department of the Treasury, Michael Froman, the resumption of U.S.-Yugoslav economic cooperation and Yugoslavia's return to international financial and economic institutions.

Froman said that his country was willing to help Yugoslavia rejoin international financial institutions and bring about the unfreezing of its assets abroad, the Yugoslav Ministry of Information said.

The U.S. official also said that the United States was seeking legal ways of unfreezing Yugoslavia's assets.

Both sides agreed that Yugoslavia's reintegration into international financial institutions was crucial to ensure an inflow of foreign capital and an increase of production in Yugoslavia and enable it to honour its obligations.

FRY: Belgrade, Bonn Restore Diplomatic Relations

LD3105211096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1754 GMT 31 May 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bonn, May 31 (TANJUG)—Germany and Yugoslavia on Friday exchanged ambassadors and thus formally restored diplomatic relations which were frozen in 1992, at the beginning of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

German president Roman Herzog on Friday gave agrement for newly appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Germany Zoran Jeremic.

Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic gave agreement for German Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia Gerhard Schroembgens.

After a four-year break, Germany accepted a full normalization of relations with Yugoslavia by a recent visit to Belgrade of German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and his meetings with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic.

FRY: FRY-Macedonian Economic Prospects Assessed

LD0306113496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1043 GMT 3 Jun 96

["Ecopool" item by Mladen Stancic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, June 3 (TANJUG)—Following the signing of the basic agreement on the normalization of Yugoslav-Macedonian relations in Belgrade on April 8, businessmen from the two countries are impatiently waiting for the administrative regulations which would finally stimulate full economic exchange.

The mutually expressed hopes and optimism are multiply justified both due to the fact that cooperation existed even during the sanctions, but also due to their comparative dependence and joint development business cooperation which began over 50 years ago in the former Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav and Macedonian economists agreed that liberal exchange is a condition for the more efficient opening and development of both economies.

Before the imposition of the sanctions, Macedonia realized over two thirds of its total exchange in deals with firms from Serbia and Montenegro, and 80 percent of its transport was carried out via its northern neighbor.

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During the sanctions, Yugoslavia realized a significant part of its exports either with or via Macedonia, and at present much of its export activities also include this country.

Early last week, a delegation of the car manufacturer Zastava of the city of Kragujevac, Serbia, visited Skopje at the invitation of the republican chamber of commerce.

Zastava has five mixed firms in Macedonia, and more than 30 Macedonian companies want to renew the old and initiate new cooperation in the manufacture of passenger cars, cargo vehicles and special programs.

Last year Zastava sold in Macedonia 1,500 vehicles and plans exports to third countries via Macedonia.

However, the problems of Yugoslav-Macedonian exchange are not confined only to customs duties, because it is necessary to first set up a money transfer system between the two countries, to avoid dual taxation, protect investments, coordinate standards and find joint interests for appearance on third markets.

Initial Yugoslav-Macedonian talks for establishing free trade, which opened in mid-May in Skopje, provide a number of reasons for optimism. The heads of the negotiating teams then said it was realistic to expect a speedy signing of an agreement which would determine the rules for the intensification of comprehensive exchange aimed towards establishing a united market which should start functioning in January 1999.

The just concluded Belgrade talks between transport and communications experts also herald better economic prospects in the south of the Balkans.

Serbia

Serbia: Milosevic, Kornblum Discuss Dayton Implementation

LD3105161996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 31 May (TANJUG)—Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic had a meeting today with John Kornblum, assistant secretary of state and head of the U.S. team for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, who had arrived in Belgrade accompanied by his aides.

They discussed the current stage of the implementation of the peace plan for Bosnia and steps that are being taken to speed up the implementation of its civilian and political parts. The most important issue in this respect is to create the necessary conditions for holding free and democratic elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

They noted the positive course of the peace process and stressed the importance of a successful implementation of the Dayton Agreement, which will—they stressed—be the main topic at the forthcoming meeting in Geneva, to which all parties have been invited and in which the United States and all other involved international players will take part.

The talks were also attended by Federal Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and Lawrence Butler, the charge d'affaires at the U.S. embassy in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Serbia: Refugee Poll Deadline Extended Until 9 Jun

LD3105210096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1747 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—The poll of refugees and expelled persons in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia which was to have ended on Friday, will be extended until June 9, it was agreed at a meeting of representatives of the Serbian Commissariat for Refugees and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR].

Serbian Commissioner for Refugees Bratislava Morina and head of the Belgrade UNHCR office Margaret o'Keefe agreed to prolong the poll because of the great interest of refugees and expelled persons, but also all others who left their homes since 1990 because of armed activities in the territory of former Yugoslavia, who are now in Serbia.

Morina told reporters that more than 500,000 refugees had been polled in Serbia from April 15, when the poll began, until May 29.

According to official estimates, more than 700,000 people from other parts of the former Yugoslavia have sought refuge in the territory of Serbia since the year 1990.

Serbia: Sandzak Muslims Protest Forcible Call-Up of Youths

LD0106214796 Sarajevo Radio Hajat in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 1 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A three-member military delegation of the Yugoslav Army visited Tutin.

Before the visit, the Tutin Military Department sent call-ups to young Bosniak men born between 1969 and 1977 who were serving their military term in the former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] when the war broke out in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Urged by the Muslim National Council of Sandzak, these young men left their JNA units, thus refusing to take part in the aggression on the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina by the JNA and Serbian paramilitary

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formations. Around 100 young men responded to the 400 call-ups issued by the Military Department. The others have sought refuge abroad from conscription and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has issued arrest warrants against them.

The military delegation questioned individually the young Bosniaks who did not manage to avoid forcible recruitment, and the questioning lasted a full seven hours. The head of the military delegation told them they had to complete their military term in the Yugoslav Army, about which they will be informed soon. He also told them that if they failed to heed the call-up to complete their military service, the Yugoslav Army had means of coercion at its disposal that will force them to do it. This is said in a statement issued by the Information Center of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak.

Serbia: Sandzak Muslims Protest Justice Ministry's Appointment

LD0206151096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The main committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Sandzak held a session chaired by main committee chairman Harum Hadzic in Novi Pazar yesterday. They discussed a statement recently received from the Serbian Justice Ministry, which appointed in an illegal way Rasim Ljajic as the chairman of the SDA of Novi Pazar, replacing Sulejman Ugljanin.

The main committee sharply condemned this move by the Serbian authorities and concluded that this was undeniable proof that the Serbian regime would resort to any means in its attempt to impose political representatives on the Bosniak Muslim people in Sandzak, irrespective of the people's wishes and choices. The leaders of the Sandzak SDA will inform all relevant international institutions about this latest instance of the most basic human rights of the Bosniaks in Sandzak being violated. They will also initiate appropriate proceedings at the Supreme Court of the Republic of Serbia. This is said in a statement issued by the Muslim National Council of Sandzak.

Serbia: Seselj Says Karadzic, Mladic Might Be Assassinated

AU3105125296 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 96 p 4

[Report by B.D.: "JUL Future Awaits Us"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade—If the Federal Assembly passes the proposal of the electoral law with a simple majority, the Serbian Radical Party will request that the Constitutional Court assess the constitutionality of such a procedure, it was reported at this party's news conference today.

The Radicals, who persist in their decision to boycott sessions not covered by the television relays, maintain that the electoral law falls within the realm of electoral issues for which the Constitution stipulates a two-thirds and not a simple majority. [passage omitted]

[Box, p 4]

Assassination of Karadzic and Mladic?

Asked to comment on the announcement by the U.S. negotiator for the former Yugoslavia John Kornblum that Slobodan Milosevic will extradite Karadzic and Mladic by the end of the week, Seselj said that "Milosevic would love to extradite them, but he cannot because he is aware that the noose around his neck is tightening."

"In the present situation it is more likely that Milosevic's people will try to kill Karadzic and Mladic," Seselj says.

Serbia: Opposition Leaders Discuss Possibility of Coalition

LD3105134396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1312 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—Four Serbian opposition leaders discussed in a meeting here Friday a possibility of setting up a coalition ahead of Yugoslav parliamentary elections scheduled for November.

The meeting was attended by Vuk Draskovic of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), Zoran Djindjic of the Democratic Party, Jozef Kasa of the Alliance of Vojvodina's Hungarians and Vesna Pesic of the Serbian Civic Alliance, the SPO press section said in a statement.

The meeting focused on the coming elections and a possibility of the four parties participating in them as a coalition, the statement said.

The Serbian opposition has repeatedly attempted to form coalition blocs against the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia, the largest party in Yugoslavia. The party has been in power in Serbia for six years.

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Serbia: Milosevic's Power Over Bosnian Serbs Assessed

AU3005145596 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 96 pp 14-15

[Article by Ljiljana Smajlovic: "All Milosevic's Men"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S. state foreign policy institute USIA (United States Information Agency) has still not published the results of its latest opinion poll conducted in the Serb Republic [RS] in April of this year, although the processing of the statistical sample has been completed. The 3,000 citizens of the RS were asked in this poll, among other things, about some leading Serb politicians. RS Vice President Biljana Plavsic, to whom Radovan Karadzic delegated some of his constitutional duties last weekend, does not feature on the list of the people in whose popularity the Americans are interested (unilke Ratko Mladic, Nikola Koljevic, Radovan Karadzic, Slobodan Milosevic, and Momcilo Krajisnik). RS Vice President Nikola Koljevic, to whom Radovan Karadzic did not delegate a single duty, features high on the list. As VREME has learned, he enjoys the support of as many as 80 percent of the respondents (39 percent have a "very favorable" opinion of him, and 41 percent a "relatively favorable" opinion). The credibility of Karadzic himself is a dozen or so percentage points lower (31 percent have a "very favorable" opinion of him, and 37 percent a "relatively favorable" opinion). Momcilo Krajisnik features even worse, only half of the respondents thought favorably of him (20 percent very favorably and 29 percent "relatively").

If one is to trust the Americans, only the popularity of Ratko Mladic in the RS exceeds that of Slobodan Milosevic himself (66 percent of respondents think everything best of him in comparison to 52 percent for Milosevic; in total, Milosevic enjoys the support of 81 percent of respondents, while the figure for Mladic stands at 93 percent). Nevertheless, the most recent events in the RS show that it would be more prudent to take the U.S. appraisal "cum grano salis" [with a grain of salt]. Rajko Kasagic also appears to have fallen victim to the cocky attitude of Carl Bildt, who put wind beneath Kasagic's wings, citing the U.S. analyses according to which Karadzic's popularity in the state and politics was falling, while Kasagic's star was rising. The same poll also shows that Silajdzic would simply "wipe out" Izetbegovic. Similar respondents vowed six years ago, with a great majority, that they would vote for Markovic's (former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] prime minister) reformists and the reformed communists.

Pale does not care for this kind of parameter when it makes its political moves, but one should nevertheless ask oneself why not Nikola Koljevic instead of Biljana Plavsic? If there was a search for a collocutor for Carl Bildt and John Kornblum, was Koljevic not the man to choose? He was in Dayton, was not in Bijeljina, and did not exchange kisses with Arkan. According to the criterion of clean hands that applies to the RS, he fits perfectly the prevailing idea of clean people that the SDS [Serb Democratic Party] needs to repair its image before the elections. He has been on the spot throughout the war, he was where the top decisions were made, and yet he is not considered a war profiteer.

The latest personnel solution offered by Karadzic and Krajisnik has strikingly revealed the absence of the Serbian president's political power in Pale. Had Slobodan Milosevic been asked anything, Nikola Koljevic would have been the "acting president." Not because Koljevic is "Milosevic's man," but because he is not. Three years of Milosevic's efforts to replace Karadzic in Pale or to find a credible alternative for him in Banja Luka have not yielded fruit. There is no shortage of people on the other side of the Drina River who, in given circumstances and if it were personally profitable and opportune for them to do, would betray Karadzic without much hesitation and start to follow Milosevic. But in the RS leadership there is not a single "Milosevic's man" that matters. What makes Nikola Koljevic different from Biljana Plavsic is not his loyalty to the Serb leader nor his "peace-loving" policy. From the Serbian president's point of view, Koljevic would simply be the "lesser of two evils," somebody that could eventually be turned into a better and longer lasting Rajko Kasagic. But the president was not even given the opportunity to choose between the "two evils."

This does not mean, however, that the RS leadership will not give in to Belgrade in the end. Karadzic's and Krajisnik's choice is similar to that of Milosevic. They, too, have to choose between "two evils," between Sarajevo and Belgrade, between reintegration and subordination. Ultimately, their choice is between a slow and quick political death. Ever since the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs joined Milosevic's game six years ago, it has become a hostage of his policies and their turnabouts. By parting with Milosevic, the Bosnian Serbs could have not avoided the dangerous consequences of his policy. This policy led to Dayton, and they now have to live with Dayton. It is the nature of Milosevic's illusory rule to create illusions that he has his own men on the other side of the Drina River, people who are loyal to him and who will carry out his will in the crucial moment.

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Despite everything, however, Milosevic still cannot remove Karadzic at this moment. What is particularly upsetting for the Serbian president is the fact that his impotence is not the result of Karadzic's strength but rather the opposite. There is still something lively and tough left of Karadzic's charisma. He still causes surges of strong emotion among the Serbs from the other side of the Drina River, even if these emotions are those that usually overcome people at funerals. Karadzic and Mladic still evoke pathos and invoke the tragedy of defeats and the injustice of history. While he ruled as a charismatic leader in Serbia before the war and while he reached telepathic agreements with the brothers from the other side of the Drina River, Slobodan Milosevic used to produce leaders there with a wink, with a friendly look. He created Karadzic by looking at him approvingly, twice. Now not even the false press reporting, NATO forces, and the support of the international community are enough to overthrow him. The secret does not lie in the alleged political prestige of Radovan Karadzic or in the nationalist madness of the Bosnian Serbs, but in Slobodan Milosevic and the nature of his authority in Serbia and over the Serbs. He is now relying on the authorities' apparatus and the levers of repression. These methods cannot be used to inspire new supporters or generate new political energy. There are no longer political ideas nor political results. Therefore, in recruiting his political supporters in Belgrade, he has nothing to show them except Dragutin Ilic, president of the Socialist Party of Serb Republic, who told the viewers of the first program of Serbian television last Tuesday that Karadzic was politically dead, and this when the less informed media from all over the world were telling their viewers and listeners that the news of the week on the political liquidation of Radovan Karadzic was somewhat premature.

Montenegro

Montenegro: FRY Army Chief Called Obstacle to Extradition

LD3105205696 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 1516 GMT 31 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 31 May (SRNA/FONET)—In the latest issue of the weekly MONITOR, Slobodan Inic claims that General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, is the greatest obstacle to the extradition of officers to The Hague tribunal.

MONTENA-FAX today carries Inic's assessment that "the case of General Perisic" is a burden to Serbian President Milosevic in two ways.

"If Ratko Mladic [Bosnian Serb military commander] and 'Vukovar officers' [Yugoslav army officers charged with killing hospital patients in Vukovar] are extradited, than it will not be long before it is the turn of General Perisic who destroyed Mostar," Inic writes, pointing out that "Milosevic's decision to extradite the officers indicted with war crimes will without any doubt contribute to further worsening of relations in the Yugoslav army, which are already unfavorable to him."

"If Mladic and the famous 'Vukovar trio' can be extradited, then anyone else can. But 90 percent of officers even today share the beliefs of their indicted fellow officers," Inic says.

Emphasizing dilemmas that are, as he says, excruciating to Milosevic with regards to this issue, Inic concludes: "If he extradites them as the international community demands, he will jeopardize his position from inside; if he does not extradite them, the same threat will hang over him, only from the outside."

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